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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1932

CONVOCATION ADDRESS[1]

MR. CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I esteem it a privilege to be present here to-day and to participate in the proceedings of this the Fifth Convocation of the Andhra University. I must confess that my knowledge of this part of the country is, for the most part, limited to through-journeys by rail and I also labour under the disadvantage that, in spite of close affinity of language, my acquaintance with the educational activities of this Province has not been very close. But I have watched, with special interest, for many years past, and particularly since the War, the struggles of the Andhra public to have a University of their own to raise their cultural stature, and to obtain independent political recognition for their part of the country in order to promote its economic well-being.

Perhaps the most significant development of recent times in Southern India has been the establishment of three new Universities as offshoots of the older federal University of Madras. The first area to set up such an institution of its own was, as you

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* Address delivered by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., LL.D., D.Sc., M.I.C.E., at the Fifth Convocation of the Andhra University, held at Waltair, on 1st December, 1931.

know, the State of Mysore, where, through the liberality of His Highness the Maharaja, the University is fostered with special solicitude and is maintained in a high state of efficiency. Incidentally it may be of interest to mention that the two distinguished educationists who have held, in succession, the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, at one time occupied prominent positions in the new Mysore University. Next after Mysore came the Annamalai University, which owes its origin to the munificence of a distinguished citizen of the Tamil community and which is also shaping creditably under its present management.

To those of us who watched the beginnings of the Mysore University and who remember the violent dislike which the mother University at one time showed to the idea of any daughter of hers setting up a house of her own, it is gratifying to learn that the two latter Universities actually parted with parental benediction and that they have received liberal help and encouragement from every quarter, and particularly from the Government of Madras. I gather from the reports that, although the Andhra University was started in 1926, it took three years to choose its headquarters and that, having started as an affiliating body, it is still struggling to build up a teaching side to its activities. But now that Waltair has been selected, it may be presumed that the energies of the authorities concerned as well as of the public interested in education will, in future, be concentrated on raising rapidly the structure of the new University of which they have laid the foundation. It is also a happy augury that the Andhra leaders are themselves keen on abandoning some of the outworn policies of the older Universities and on concentrating on the more modern or utilitarian side of higher education. I have long felt that it is necessary to adequately stress the utilitarian side, which has been unfortunately neglected in the past to the detriment of the permanent interests of the country. It should be possible to do this without being misunderstood or seeming to disparage the cultural aspects of University education.

The selection of the head quarters, though tardily done, seems also particularly happy, because Waltair itself is a famous health resort, with scenery round about it reminiscent of the Riviera, and Vizagapatam, its suburb, with its potential magnificent new harbour and railway connections, promises to become, at no distant date, the Karachi of the East. It is also fit and proper that Universities of the newer type should be located in, or close to, large cities and emporiums.

Advice to Graduates.

Before I proceed to the special topics I have in view, let me in accordance with recognized custom on such occasions say a few words, in the nature of advice, to the graduates on whom His Excellency the Chancellor has just conferred degrees, with due ceremony, in the presence of this large and distinguished audience.

Your first duty, my young friends, after you leave the portals of this University, is to enter some profession, occupation or service to earn your living and cease to be dependent members of your family and community. Your next is to endeavour, to the fullest extent of our opportunities, to persuade all adult persons within your influence to keep themselves usefully employed, according to their capacity and circumstances, so that the great majority of them may constitute self-supporting members of the community. I lay special emphasis on this because, while for many years past the rate of increase of production and wealth in this country has been inappreciable, the population, whose welfare depends on such increase, has been growing at an alarming rate.

Success in life depends on action, that is, on what you do, and not on what you feel or think, and the price of success is hard work, preferably in an occupation congenial to your tastes. To work, to initiate, to get results, and get results quickly, is the key-note of the modern age. Industry, concentration, self-reliance, a resolute will, added to integrity of character, are the chief passports to success, and these are within the reach of every active brain.

In these days of mass movements, mergers and co-operative enterprises, important results are achieved when large numbers of people work in unison for common advantage. Every nation that has prospered in recent years has done so by organized team work in the various departments of its public life. So, for the sake of your own and your country's welfare, you will find it an advantage if you form the habit of working harmoniously with all people with whom you come into relation in your daily life.

To the extent to which your opportunities permit, every one of you should give a portion of your time and energy to the service of the community, in one of the many ways for which there is always a great demand. Public service, the attempt to make the Province or State in which you live a better and happier place, is a high vocation. It should be your proud privilege to participate in such work, in however small a degree, according to your capacity and opportunities ; and you will experience no greater satisfaction in later life than what you may derive by the service rendered to your neighbours, society or the community.

We are living in a rapidly changing world, and if we are able to assimilate the latest habits and practices of progressive nations in our business life, our moral and material advance will be speedy and certain.

A wise use of time is of great value to success. In the last resort, health, happiness and success all depend on the work you put in ; and on your own honesty of purpose, determination and pluck, you should stake your future.

With these few words of counsel, I offer you all my warmest congratulations on the degrees and distinctions you have won, and I wish you and the University which has helped you to win them, continued prosperity and godspeed.

The Country's Deficiencies and Wants.

On the present occasion, I wish to draw attention to the importance of adjusting future educational policies and curricula to the needs of business and demands of economic advance. From the public standpoint, this is an urgent matter and I wish it to be considered not as an abstract proposition but as a live issue to the present generation. There has admittedly been such an appalling waste of talent and money in education of every grade in this country, especially of the University grade, that it is time that the whole system of education in it is rationalised without delay. The country's paramount needs render such a step not only necessary but imperative. The cultural side has had more attention paid to it in the past than perhaps, it rightly required, in view of the growing population from decade to decade. There is, however, no need to decry the value to be attached to it, if to-day we are to emphasize the urgent importance of the utilitarian aspect to meet the stress and storm of life with which the country is faced. University reform, if it is really to bear fruit, should, I think, from now, especially in view of the impending constitutional advance, take note of the defects of the past and provide remedies which will prove not mere palliatives but sure cures. Some degree of realism is, I think, really called for if Universities are to subserve genuine national ends in this country. The Andhra University is yet young and it is in a position to start well and strike out a new path in consonance with the needs of the time.

We will now go over a few of the most glaring deficiencies and wants with which we are confronted. One of the greatest disabilities under which the population of this country is labouring is illiteracy. According to the figures available, not more than 8 per cent. of the entire population of India is able to read and write. The corresponding proportion of literate population in British India is 7·5 per cent. and that in the

Madras Presidency 8·6 per cent. In most countries claiming to be progressive, the proportion is at least ten times what is represented by these figures. The next biggest disability, if next at all, is short employment and unemployment. Agricultural operations in this country depend on rainfall which lasts for about four months; the cultivator has, in consequence, regular employment for approximately six months in the year and there is no policy, organization or agency to find him suitable work for the remaining period. He is left to his own unaided devices to keep himself employed. A third deficiency is the pursuit of agriculture by archaic practices, that is to say, by unscientific and unbusinesslike methods and without machinery, adequate capital or manure. A fourth defect is the neglect of industries. For one reason or another, organized industries, which in many countries produce staple products in large quantities and help to build up wealth, have not made any appreciable headway here. The number of persons employed in such industries is barely 1¾ million out of a total of about 353 million. In a progressive country of this size, there should be at least 25 million so employed. Such a development will, in addition, lead to perhaps twice this number obtaining employment in trade, transport, finance and other subsidiary occupations. A fifth defect is the small share taken by the people in higher commerce and foreign trade. India has no investments abroad and is herself a debtor nation. Such gold and silver as she has, constitute for practical purposes frozen wealth, and the country's economic organization is not calculated to encourage investments in industries and business. A sixth defect is the absence of any organization on modern lines to supply these deficiencies in a direct manner and to make available capital, technical skill, advice, and other aids, to help the people to build up business.

The future educational policies of the country should be specifically shaped to provide remedies for these various deficiencies and wants. A determined attempt should be made to equip every young person in the country with a knowledge of the 3 R's and, also, when possible, with some degree of knowledge of skill in a vocation or profession suited to his capacity and opportunities. The educational system should arrange to train a sufficiency of natural leaders, such as administrators, entrepreneurs and technical experts taken from young persons qualified by their natural ability and aptitudes. It is these two classes, namely, persons of directing ability on the one hand and the great masses of working population on the other, that count most in the country's economic life. The two working together create business. The intermediate class, *viz.*, foremen, middlemen and skilled workmen, will grow up automatically although they too will need, and will benefit by, education appropriate to their class.

Education of the University Grade.

As the leader class is usually trained in the Universities, it would be appropriate to consider first in what directions the system of University education needs revision and strenghthening. The number of scholars attending Universities, and institutions of University grade, in British India, comes to about 100,000 and including the Indian States it may go up to 110,000. The corresponding figures in Great Britain and Japan appear to be about 49,660 and 52,186 respectively and in the United States of America about 919,381. The comparison shows that if Great Britain is to be our model, and assuming that we can afford the cost, there should be at least three times the number of scholars attending institutions of the University grade in this country than there are at the present time.

The instruction given in the Indian Universities in subjects which have relation to production and business is extremely meagre. The most remunerative occupations for a time in this country will be those connected with *Industries* which are needed for converting raw materials into the finished products of commerce. The principal courses of studies needed for industries and allied professions are—Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy and Chemical Technology. With the increase of inventions, new machinery and new commodities, specialized branches of Engineering have developed to meet the needs of definite technique, such as, Fuel and Gas Engineering, Electro-Chemical Engineering, Automotive and Aeronautical Engineering, Marine Engineering, Naval Engineering and the like.

For the next great occupation, namely, Agriculture, a knowledge of Chemistry, of sound agricultural practices, the use of machinery and manure will be needed, and also a knowledge of hydraulic engineering to design and operate works connected with irrigation.

For the practice of trade and commerce in the highest levels, a sound knowledge of economics, commerce, domestic and international trade and banking is indispensable. And along with these short courses in Civil Administration, in Business Administration and the occupational structure of the leading industrial nations of the world will be extremely valuable. In all these respects, the Indian Universities should put forth their strength in future to bring the training into closer contact with the needs of everyday business.

Co-operation among Universities.

It is not intended that provision should be made for every important subject in every University. Where the number of students requiring training in a subject or science is small, it would be comparatively less costly for the University to encourage young persons to proceed to other Universities where specialized training is imparted or even to foreign countries, by providing scholarships and stipends for the purpose. I would plead in this connection for greater co-operation between the Universities, both in regard to providing courses of study and to specialization with a view to ultimate research. Many foreign Universities are constantly modifying their curricula to suit the changing demands of public work and business in their respective countries. Some of them, like the McGill University of Montreal (Canada), keep track of even social questions and issue social service bulletins. That shows how modern Universities try to keep abreast of the times and endeavour to cater to public needs on efficient and scientific lines. Except perhaps in the Calcutta University, research is not carried on to the extent desired. There should be research by professors and research by students ; those who show special aptitude in this field should be deputed to Europe and America in the country's larger interests.

A Technological University for India.

Such a great importance is attached to Technology and Commerce in Japan that separate Universities are maintained for the purpose and students are encouraged to remain at a University on an average up to an age of over 26 years. Science and Technology should be cultivated in close association. It is gratifying to learn that the Andhra University is likely soon to establish a College of Science and Technology at Waltair. A few weeks ago in the course of a learned address at the Annamalai University, Mr. S. E. Ranganatham, the Vice-Chancellor of that University, deplored the lack of funds which prevented their starting a similar College at Chidambaram and suggested that instead of scattering their slender resources by multiplying ill-equipped colleges, all the Universities of South India might join forces and inaugurate an up-to-date College of Science and Technology with complete equipment of laboratories, workshops and machinery. In this connection it is worth while considering whether the Tata Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore may not be converted into a University as was at one time contemplated and placed under the control of a board of Members drawn from the Universities of India, the representatives of the Tata family and the Provincial and State Governments concerned. If this was done and there was whole-hearted co-operation from all these bodies and authorities, it should be possible to obtain magnificent results in the technical line in less than a dozen years' time.

Other Grades and Forms of Education.

A general idea may be formed of the educational facilities available in British India from the number of scholars attending all classes of institutions which, in 1928-29, was 12·17 millions. This is equivalent to 4·5 per cent. of the total population of the country, the corresponding proportion at the same time being about 12·5 per cent. in Japan, 16 per cent. in Great Britain and 25 per cent. in the United States of America. The fact that the last-named country maintains one quarter of its population at school is doubtless the main reason why it is so prosperous to-day. The figures also show what an enormous leeway we have to make up in this country.

The numbers attending schools of the elementary grade in 1919 formed about 3·3 per cent. of the total population. To do justice to the needs of the country, this number should be trebled or quadrupled. There should be a wide diffusion of elementary education among the masses and the character of the education should be such as to give them a bias in favour of a vocation or calling.

The number of scholars attending schools of the secondary grade seems fairly satisfactory. Next in importance to mass elementary education comes vocational education. The number attending technical and special schools in the year 1929 is given as 327,673 or about 12 per 10,000. This number requires to be multiplied ten-fold if it is to be anywhere near the European standard. A very widespread system of vocational education is one of the greatest needs of the day in order to prepare the people for business life.

A young person who completes his primary education at the age of 10 or 12 should be able to enter an Arts and Crafts school in the nearest taluk or town. Students who pass the Middle School course and the High School course should be able to enter a Mid-Technical school and a Polytechnique (or a Technical Institute) respectively. For the highest qualifications in an occupation or profession, a young person should enter a University after passing the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science. There should be Institutions of corresponding grades on parallel lines in Commerce or Business and Agriculture for those who wish to take up those professions. In Agricultural Schools, instruction in elementary mechanical engineering and the use of machinery should form an obligatory course as in the United States of America.

To give opportunities of improving their knowledge or skill to persons already in employment, a large variety of schools should be allowed to spring up, such as, continuation schools, part-time schools, night schools, and special trade schools.

For a rapid diffusion of both general and business education, a considerable expansion of adult education is a desideratum. Adults should be able to obtain training in any grade or variety of education, up to, say, the 32nd year of age by attending night schools or part-time classes, without material interference with their regular occupation and income. Private effort should come to the aid of Government to carry on a country-wide campaign to spread literacy, or knowledge of a vocation among the adult population.

In any scheme for a wide expansion of education, there should be a provision for local Committees or Boards of citizens competent to advise persons in the choice of a profession or calling at any stage of their educational career.

Lessons from Foreign Countries.

For preparing a plan or programme for the rapid spread of education, note should be taken of recent developments in all grades of education in foreign countries. A close study of the educational history and policies of three or four up-to-date countries for the past fifty years will provide adequate data for framing a reliable plan and programme for our own. Western countries and Japan closely watch each other's progress in every department of national growth but neither Government nor leaders in India are in the habit of profiting by the past experience of countries outside our own. They only compare the country's condition with its past and are easily satisfied if there is some small advance. What matters to us in these rapidly changing times is not that we are better than we were ten or twenty years ago but how we are advancing relatively to countries in the forefront of progress.

For the same purpose, the present world trends in industry and business should be also taken into account. The employment of machinery and mass production methods in the West and particularly in the United States of America, has helped to reduce production costs and the use of human labour. This has resulted not only in increasing production in the countries in which these devices are adopted but also in reducing the wages paid to human labour in backward countries like India. A striking instance of this tendency is the sale at Karachi of wheat, produced in Canada, and in Russia, at a price lower than that ruling for wheat grown by Indian labour on the banks of the Indus.

You have all heard of the famous Five-year Plan of Soviet-Russia, which is a programme to cover year by year and item by item the economic development of the Union commencing from the year 1928-29. Speaking of the nation-wide economic plan, the *Manchester Guardian* not long ago remarked : "The originality of organization, the variety of methods of teaching and the consciousness of aim, may well produce in a few years, a technical education system which will startle Europe." A similar organization for developing production and education may be most useful if India decides to forge ahead. We are not concerned with the Soviet methods creating a classless society or promoting collective ownership, but their principle of conscious planning conveys a much-needed lesson to this country. It is reported that many broad-minded business leaders in the United States of America are already seriously thinking that some of the elements of a planned economy may be adopted in their own country.

A Provincial Plan and Programme.

Our aim should be to bring education closer to business. To illustrate how this should be done, let us take a province like the Andra-desha which has a population of about 20 million in round figures. We know that there is as yet no separate Andhra Province as such but the area indicated is as good as any for our purpose.

A Five-Year Plan of educational advance should give data showing the various forms of educational institutions required, the approximate number of young persons to be kept under training in each class of institution in order to provide future recruits to the various classes of industries, occupations and professions. These numbers should not be left to chance, as has been done hitherto, but determined by investigation in close consultation between Government, the representatives of industries and professions, the Universities and other classes of educational institutions. The best way to insure co-operation is by the establishment of boards or committees to advise the Government.

The total number of scholars of all grades attending educational institutions in the Andhra country, according to the latest figures available, is 991,931, or say, one million persons. For a future ideal the number should be 20 per cent. of the total population, or about four times the present number. The number of scholars maintained in elementary schools in the same area is 932,731. This should be increased to 15 per cent. of the total population, or say, 3 millions. In schools of secondary grade, the present attendance is about 55,409 persons and this may have to be increased to about 100,000. The number attending vocational and special schools at present is probably about 13,000 persons. To do justice to the business needs of the province, this number should go up to, say, about 200,000. There should be at least one College of Science, Engineering and Technology, one well-equipped College of Commerce and one College of Agriculture, with a model farm attached. Of vocational or technical schools below the University grade, there should ordinarily be three grades, namely, elementary, middle and higher ; of commercial and business schools two grades and of schools of agriculture also two grades. With the growth of industry and business, a great variety of unrecognized trade and business schools is apt to spring up and such institutions also should be encouraged and supported.

There should be one or more factories or manufacturing establishments, either maintained or aided by Government for the manufacture of machines of every kind, and machinery such as locomotive engines and even aeroplanes and automobiles. Where the expense of the manufacture of full-size machinery is found to be prohibitive, resort should be had to the "Unit operation method" by using plant in miniature. Such an arrangement is indispensable to render industries popular in a country like India, where both business-men and students will benefit by ocular demonstration.

Another class of training on which emphasis may be laid is instruction in business habits, up-to-date business routine, methodical performance of duties, appreciation of the value of time and similar matters. Instruction should be given also in every grade and class of education, to the extent appropriate to each, in Civics, Public Administration and Business Administration.

There is practically no limit to the supply of student population in any province provided the necessary funds are forthcoming. If an appeal for funds is made by eminent sons of the Andhra country itself, like Sir C. V. Raman and your own Vice-Chancellor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, it is not likely to fall on deaf ears. I am sure there will be general agreement among educationists that there should be a planned economy on the lines I have roughly outlined for every Indian province for the prosecution of its future educational programme.

Education and Economic Welfare.

I fear I have digressed somewhat from the usual style of Convocation Address by giving special prominence to one aspect of education only, namely, its business and practical side. I was led to choose this theme because education is the root of all progress and every educational problem is at bottom an economic one. My diagnosis is that education in this country having regard to its enormous population is pitifully meagre, that it is far below progressive standards, that it is ill-adapted for nation-building and wealth-producing activities and that the Universities which are at the apex have not set a good example in all these respects. The economic future of India is placed in grave peril by the slow progress which mass education is making and the scant attention that is being paid in University circles to the needs of industrial and commercial advance. There is no organization charged to deal with these problems, nor is there any visible move to create such an organisation.

If what I have stated is correct—and my diagnosis is based on information gathered during visits to the leading Universities of the world and to some of them more than once—I trust it will be conceded that a case for reform is made out and that the time has arrived when no province or State in India can rest content till it has suitably modified its educational policies and put its house in order. At a time when every rupee of money and every ounce of energy is needed to increase the volume of education, we can ill afford to waste either money or energy on the ornamental variety, whatever the class or form, that does not return its money's worth.

The present low production and income of the country cannot be due to lack of labour, because, as we have seen already, there is redundant man power, and unemployment is rife. It cannot be due to lack of resources, because raw materials of enormous value are exported from the country, and manufactured products, which can be made here out of the same materials, are imported from abroad in equally enormous quantities. In the midst of a competitive world, we find our vast population, ignorant, unorganised and suffering from short employment. The problem before the country is how to grow more products of every kind needed to sustain its enormous population, how to convert most of the raw materials capable of being used in industries into manufactured products within the country itself by the labour of its own people, how to raise the productive value of that labour and the quality of constructive talent to supervise the labour; and also how to bring into existence an organization which will help to attract capital to business, and in which labour, raw materials, popular initiative and directing ability may all play an appropriate part to increase the country's production and wealth.

Some Concrete Examples.

That organization and enthusiasm can work wonders is evident from the example set by the Benares Hindu University, where a leading private citizen has, by sheer force of character and patriotism, been able to collect a crore and a half of money to build up a new University. I have had proofs in a small way in the Mysore State of what popular enthusiasm can do when it is really roused. An educational campaign undertaken in that State between the years 1912 and 1918, under the supervision of an able head of the Education Department, resulted in trebling the number of scholars attending primary schools in a short space of six years.

An Appeal to Andhras.

The people of the Andhra-desa are a patriotic and impressionable race and there can be no more legitimate aspiration for them than to bring, with the co-operation of their Government, their educational ideas and system into line with those of countries in the forefront of progress. It may take long to do this or it may be accomplished in fifteen or twenty years. But whatever the rate of progress, it may be taken as an axiom that the material prosperity of the province will follow at the same pace as the education of its citizens. If knowledge is power, practical education is the source of both power and wealth. Let those leaders, then, who take a pride in serving the public, use their powers of persuasion and leadership, with unflagging zeal, to build up an educational structure, worthy of the noble destiny to which they aspire to raise their province.

TO HOPE

I float and drift in the waters of life,
I hear thy voice sing to me :
" Arise, my darling,
The night of Bliss is coming."

I move and walk along the thorns of life,
I hear thy voice cry to me :
" Move on, my darling,
The end of troubless is coming."

I weep in the dullness of my own soul,
I hear thy voice pour to me :
" Sing on, my darling,
Life's music is coming."

NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

MODERN ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

About twelve centuries ago the king of Kerala came to Sankaracharyya, the great savant-ascetic of South India, with heaps of gold and jewellery on elephants' back and two dramas composed by himself, and offered them as presents. Sankaracharyya is said to have kept the two books to himself and ordered the distribution of the rest amongst the poor in the neighbourhood. Doubtless the saint had thought that he had made the best use of the money placed at his disposal, and felt a degree of self-satisfaction for his meritorious deed. But perhaps he was not aware that the standards of merit might vary—and that to an extent which could approach contradiction itself. If he were living now near 'the well-known writer of philosophic books' who had "given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend," he would have surely turned with surprise if not with actual resentment, unable to appreciate why his neighbour's action should be condemned by Carnegie as "one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life." Such feelings of surprise and resentment indicate the great change in social environment and the mental outlook which the former helps to create.

The ancients had great distrust for wealth and little regard for its efficiency either in the development of the individual or in the promotion of social welfare. The Indians, one of the foremost races of the ancient world, had no doubt evolved economic thought of their own which gave recognition, nay sometimes exaggerated recognition, to wealth. Kautilya had noticed the close connection between wealth and welfare; Asoka realised that connection into actual life; while Sukra would take that connection deeper still by insisting: "wealth alone could lead men to virtue, satisfaction and salvation." Then there were the Vedic sages, the Purvacharyas, Visalaksha, Parasara, Pisuna, Bahudanti-putra, and a host of other Artha-shastra writers. But with all this it should be remembered that the recognition of wealth was far from being general. The physical features which gave India abundant Nature's gifts made her material life comparatively easy, and this easiness took away much of the charms which material life had in other countries. Then there was the political condition which made India a conglomeration of innumerable warring states and thereby discouraged the accumulation of wealth by private individuals. To these must be added the vices and corruption amongst the rich, the jealousies and mutual feud amongst the princes, the frolicsome mirth, the shameless levity, the soul-agonising despair—which primitive conditions in all countries could not help and early created a feeling of bitter antipathy towards materialistic pursuits in the minds of India's intelligentsia whom Nature by her bounteous favour had already given the leisure to contemplate. Thus wealth in spite of her recognition by the Arthashastra-writers failed to gain that sanction of philosophy which alone could have preserved its message to an unbelieving posterity. "Wealth," said the great savant-ascetic to whom we have referred, "is the root of all evils. This thought—let it be permanent with you. Forsooth, wealth cannot give us the slightest tinge of happiness." Then there was the train of philosophers both before and after him, whose voice of condemnation was in no way less vehement. In fact, like the free-traders of moden England who entertain an almost superstitious hatred for protection, people in India led by their philosophers made materialism a by-word for all that is vile and immoral in this world. Wealth could bring to their mind no other image than rank selfishness, murderous debauchery, and all "the dreadful sins who in a body wait on Satan." India has many gospels of life, but hardly any gospel of wealth—and the cause is a historical and natural one.

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The Greeks, another ancient race of marked celebrity, though more materialistic than their Indian brethren, at least in their mental outlook, could give us no better. They were indeed less favoured by Nature, and the rocky character of their native soil had early turned them into a maritime and commercial people, and as such they had the best chance of formulating the true philosophy of wealth. But they failed. And their failure in economics was largely due to their straining in politics. If in India men were essentially religious, the people of Greece were by virtue, by nature, and by necessity political. The religious creed of India took her to a philosophic retirement from wealth ; the political creed of Greece led her to a political misuse of wealth. In Sparta her sole legislator, Lycurgus, wanting a vigorous militia for defence against neighbouring foes, turned the whole citizen-body into forced abstainers, and this had a reaction upon her social morality with the exact precision of a Newtonian Law. For within a century or two following the legislation of Lycurgus, the Spartans outside Sparta had become the most rapacious, the most greedy and the meanest hunters after gold. In Athens her Pericles, her Chophon, to make Athens ' the Queen of Hellas ' through a finished democracy, trampled upon the hard-earned wealth of the rich, thus giving rise to a city rabble which ultimately tore away the very foundations on which the commonwealth was designed to stand. Political liberty which would cement the state into an organic whole became nothing but a political license. Man's natural political existence, to defend which Socrates had to lose his own life, became hopelessly distorted in the hands of the popular charlatans ; and it is only when we remember this that we can appreciate Diogenes, his cynicism of wealth, society and life :

> No city, or country I profess,
> But trust each day to bring its daily bread,
> Vagrant and beggar.

Thus the Greeks too failed—and the failure again was, partly if not wholly, historical and natural. It is only too fair to

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notice here that there were at least some Greeks with whom wealth had a more refined and quite up-to-date precision. Thus Plato had recognised the value of wealth in constructing his 'Republic'; and Aristotle, his great disciple and critic, goes still further when he declares that no ideal polity is possible without the material conditions of life. Virtue—the end of the state—he says disagreeing with the cynics, is not self-sufficient for happiness. Chronic poverty deprives men of leisure and liberal impulses: a man upon whom the task of earning life's "necessary" bread weighs heavily can have little time and less inclination for listening to 'Counsels of perfection." But the outcome of the need for leisure and detachment which meets us prominently in Aristotle's pages, is slavery. However one may seek to be fair to Aristotle's conception of life, we cannot but admit that it is the conception entertained by an intellectual aristocracy (which would fain be also a political aristocracy) of itself, and of its possibilities and necessities. Its flower would have been a fine manhood fully open; but many a life must have gone before, like autumn leaves, to fertilise the ground.

A wider thinking was necessary which would propound an ideal that will need no instruments upon which all men may not count, and which above all made no man a mere instrument to the welfare of another. Such a wider thinking modern Economics claims for her subject-matter. It says that it is not the handmaiden of Mammon but of Ethics, waiting to serve her mistress when she embarks on her missionary voyage to reconstitute the world on a higher basis of law and morality, and help it to realise that vision of immortal Justice for which Plato had sighed. Should its mistress fail, it also fails, but for that it must not be blamed and set aside: it had not tarried; it was ever ready to serve and do its humble part.

The fundamental problem of modern economics, as it is also of modern politics and of society in general, is the problem of adjusting material conditions to the higher well-being of man. "Is it really impossible," asks the economist of to-day, "that all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life, free from the pains of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil.........? " To-day, a spinning machine turns yarn in one day which would require the toil of spinners for full ten years. Half a seer of coal in the furnace replaces the weary work of the tired muscles of a labourer for one long day. Is then the idea, the thought of creating a better world than this we have in our day, impracticable? Is it really the raving of a mad utopian philanthropist—a mirage in the desert of the human heart ? The answer is a difficult one to make ; but Economics offers us a ray of hope by declaring that poverty is not a necessary and indispensable ordinance of nature.

Poverty, as the socialist writers would have it, is a question of distribution. The wealth that is produced in the world to-day is sufficient to maintain all people at a decent standard of living, if it is shared more equitably which means more equally. Even Marshall, the great English economist, who was averse to any radical change in the social organism which he thought too delicate to bear the effect, said—" Is it necessary that while there is so much wealth there should be so much want ? " Such anticipations of removing wants by better distribution need certain corrections, specially from the point of view of India where it is generally agreed that poverty is not so much a question of distribution as of production. These loopholes in the general expectance do not however vitiate the socialist attack upon the existing economic system of the world. Though the socialists lay great emphasis on distribution they do not for a moment lose sight of the productive machine. They point out that under the present system of competition and private property society is daily incurring a huge waste. Not only is society losing on the ethical side, since many of its members are compelled to live a life of unemployment, ignorance and disease, but also it is losing on the economic side itself, for production is being carried on without the necessary correlation to the needs of the society. Not only under-production is leading to acute distress in society as a consumer, but also over-production is leading to an equal amount, if not more, of misery in society as a producer. The violent trade depressions, the great world crises which have a general effect of putting society out of all gear, are the results, nay inevitable adjuncts, of an uncontrolled law of supply and demand. Here arises the crucial problem and if Economics can offer a proper solution, the voyage of her mistress is won—the flags will be unfurled, bouquette and ribon-wreaths shall celebrate humanity's triumphal march.

The problem can be reduced thus :—(*i*) Is the productive machine of to-day imperfect ? (*ii*) Is a better one impossible?

As regards the first question the world's public opinion is unanimous. Perhaps there was no other avenue possible. The logic of circumstances have been too great to be otherwise explained : even the most bigoted capitalist is even now feeling the rough shaking of the "recent wave." But the solution of this question however does not help us much. To imitate the philosophic pessimism of Bertrand Russel, mankind here might stand on the feet of unyielding despair. Yes, the productive machine is not all right, but what can be done ? Man may fight and clamour, but no better machine is forthcoming. Let us see whether mankind may not have a more hopeful future. To do this we have to solve the second question. Is not a better productive machine possible? May not a changed one dry up the oil that sets the wheels of business "a-roll ?" Economists are mostly disagreed on this point. Those of the remote past have given their blunt "yes ;" some who yet survive the progressive years still have their hesitations; while others who are mostly of the young generation have stoutly expressed their denial. The question, as its very nature indicates, cannot possibly be answered by economists alone; it involves a re-consideration of human psychology in particular, That if private property is abolished and law of competition is turned into a law of cautious survey, certain benefits will accrue we can fairly accept. Land and capital, being in the hands of society, may be used in such a way that the greatest economies so far as they depend directly on the two factors will be secured; there is no doubt about it. Even a similar improvement may come from the social control of labour and organisation. Labour may be better housed, work in more sanitary conditions and in general receive a greater share of the national dividend. Organisation may be more rationalised. There will be little need of advertisement and less need of expenditure; the farms will be in exact ratio to customers' demand; and losses of unnecessary establishments eliminated, excluding the stoppage of certain other expenditures in connection with transports, communications, etc. But the great point at issue is whether with all these improvements there will be the expected increase in the national dividend. With Marshall, for instance, the national dividend is all in all (and justly so for it is the source, and the only source, which supplies water to the tubes both near and far) and it is feared by him that economic socialism will not only fail to increase its volume but may, by diminishing it in many cases, threaten even the rough equilibrium which society has come to acquire. Says Carnegie: "The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilisation itself rests, for civilisation took its start from the day when the capable industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, 'If thou dost not sow, thou shalt not reap,' and thus ended primitive communism by separating the drones from the bees."[1] One who studies the subject, may continue others, will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilisation itself depends—the right of the labourer to his hundred dollars in the savings bank and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. Every man must be allowed "to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to make him afraid,'' if human society is to advance, or even to remain so far advanced as it is. To those who propose socialism for this intense individualism, the answer is : the race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have had the ability and energy to produce it. But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundations, individualism, –that it is a nobler ideal that man should labour, not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood in common, realising Swedenborg's idea of heaven, where, as he says, the angels derive their happiness, not for labouring for self, but for each other,—even if we admit all this, a sufficient answer is, This is not evolution, but revolution. It necessitates the changing of human nature itself even if it were good to change it, which we cannot know.

What will Economics say to these? Are such apprehensions valid? Is human nature unchanging? Or, if that may be the case, is the explanations of human nature which the conservatives have offered, comprehensive? May there be not a fuller, a more illuminating one ? Economics can only look to her sister, psychology. Hedonism or utilitarianism has hitherto formed the basis of economic generalisations. Utilitarianism which makes pleasure the chief good of man says that men are guided in their economic motives by considerations of gain and loss. But recently utilitarianism has lost much of its former hold : it has been found to be inadequate and in its place behaviouristic psychology has gained wider acceptance. Some writers (*e.g.*, Dickinson in his *Economic Motives*) however maintain that the gap between the old hedonistic psychology and the new behaviouristic psychology is much narrower than is often supposed and that for the practical purpose of the economist the old psychology still remains substantially valid. Others would dispute this view. In his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* Bertrand Russel has suggested, " All human activity springs from two sources ;

impulse and desire. The part played by desire has always been sufficiently recognised. But desire governs no more than a part of the human activity, and that not the most important part but only the more conscious, explicit and civilised part. Impulse is, at the bottom, the basis of our activity, much more than desire......what applies to artistic creation (*e.g.*, painting a picture or writing a book) applies equally to all that is most vital in our lives; direct impulse is what moves us, and the desires which we think we have are a mere garment for the impulse." If this be true then certainly the mistress of Economics need not fear that her vessel will founder on the rock of human nature. The Russian vessel at least has passed unhurt the agrarian part of the rock, and, Colonel Robertson anticipates, it may reach the harbour at Bombay or at Hong-Kong.

In conclusion we may say that though the rock of human nature is a solid one and inexorable in its own place, it is also open to human modifications. Many a mossy stone one may have to come across in the uphill way but beside the mossy stones there are also the violets to be guarded and taken due care of, that the "hall of human progress" may one day "smile, shine soft and long abide, beautiful evermore." In this work of human glorification, need we add, the universities which hitherto have remained with a Platonic withdrawal, thinking that the Final good should some day be miraculously achieved, have an important contribution to make. That contribution should not only lie in preparing the Organon of Knowledge which will dispel all illusions, but also in spreading the message of that other Organon, that hope may return and those who are heavy-laden may at least find a resting-place near the "Roads to Freedom."

BHABADEVA BHATTACHARYYA

THE RECENT STERLING LOAN

An eminent economist once observed that civilisation and indebtedness go together. The remark, apparently made wittily, points to an unmistakable tendency—the tendency of debts of almost all governments to swell. While much of the indebtedness of civilised nations—an overwhelmingly large magnitude—is born of unproductive operations of the governments, quite a large volume of the debts is also due to expenditure on improvements which are of lasting benefit to the country. Evidently problems of widely different character are suggested by the different classes of debts. Not only the nature of the debt but the purposes for which, and also the manner in which, they are raised, have profound reactions on the economic life of a nation and give rise to complex problems of great moment.

It is a *sine quâ non* of public finance that every government should strive to meet its current expenditure out of its current revenues. It is now almost an economic platitude to say that a loan *per se* tends to become a direct real burden as it transfers wealth from one section of the community to another, usually from the active businessmen to the leisured class, and to increase the inequalities of incomes. A growing country, on the other hand, is constantly in need of large funds for a variety of capital expenditures the fruits of which are also enjoyed by the generations still unborn. Evidently there is a limit to the extent to which funds can be raised by means of taxation. The limit, elastic as it is and varying as it does with the methods by which, and the purposes for which, the taxes are levied, is set by the tendency of taxation to check production. Beyond a certain point taxes would prove a serious handicap to the producers; they would be tempted to cut down production and the national dividend will be *pro tanto* prejudicially affected. Obviously a rigid policy of taxation carried too far defeats its own ends. The very sources which are to be tapped become dried up. Before this tendency operates the government must resort to borrowing. So varied are the expenses of the government to-day that public borrowing has become a vital part of modern public finance. Still it is true that capital expenditure, whether productive or unproductive, should as far as possible be financed by taxes. The reason is not far to seek. As Dr. Dalton puts it, "it prevents the breeding of needless unearned income and makes a far less unequal distribution." It is also possible that to tide over temporary current treasury requirement the government has often to "go into the market." But particular care should be taken that such debts do not accumulate and that they are paid out of the next incoming revenues. The government's aim should ever be to present a balanced budget and taking one year with another the surpluses and deficits ought to balance. It is also a cardinal principle of public finance that public debt should afford opportunities for investment to all classes of investors.

The evils of public borrowing are magnified manifold if the loan happens to be a foreign one. While the internal borrowing has the saving grace of retaining wealth within the country, the repayment of the external loan itself and the payment of the interest thereupon involve an exodus of wealth from the country. External borrowing may also be attended with other serious consequences. Apart from occasioning exchange difficulties and seriously prejudicing the international credit of the borrowing country, heavy foreign loans place it in a position of inferiority. Not the least among the dangers of foreign loans is that they breed vested interests of foreigners within the country. They may even serve to furnish a convenient plea to the foreigners for interference with the internal affairs of the country and may even lead to colonisation by external capitalists in the territory of the borrowing country. Britain's occupation of Egypt is an instance perilously near the point. Briefly, international indebtedness gives rise to delicate, dangerous and far-reaching international problems of supreme importance in the solution of which the creditor country generally gets the whip-hand.

CALCUTTA CENTRAL LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

These serious disadvantages notwithstanding, a comparatively new and developing country may be driven to borrow largely abroad, because its own capital resources are inadequate while its rich and abounding natural resources are still to be explored and worked up into finished products. Even well-developed and advanced countries are often faced with the uncomfortable situation of their capital resources, adequate as they are in normal times, being well-nigh exhausted while they stand in urgent need of funds and more funds to finance some extraordinary expenditures. Under such circumstances when the avenues of internal borrowing have been adequately explored an unchallengeable case for external loan is clearly made out. Exigencies of the situation—the imperious needs of the nation—demand such actions. These considerations do not exhaust the problems connected with foreign loans. The manner of borrowing is not less important than the fact of borrowing. It is of the essence of such loan operations that they should be as far as possible short-term loans. Long-term external debts should be kept to "irreducible minimum." The merits of such loans can only be tested by these well-known canons of public finance and also by reference to other possible alternatives.

The authorities in charge of Indian finances seem to show an unfailing affection for the London money market. They have often been arraigned of being partial towards London regarding their loan operations. With a charming naiveté they have almost on every occasion virtually pleaded guilty to the charge and solemnly promised never more to betray such graceless partiality. The surprising regularity with which the assurances have been repeated and as surprising regularity with which they have been disregarded has ever been a matter of great amazement. Only recently India has been saddled with a sterling loan amounting to £10m. The tragedy of the whole thing is that India has no determining voice in the matter, but only to bear the burden as best as she can. Surely, hardly any objection can be taken to the Government of India finding short-term accommodation in the London money-market. This could easily have been accomplished by seeking accommodation through sterling bills. But as the loan is a long-term one (1958-68), a *prima facie* case lies against the recent sterling loan. The onus of making out a sound case in favour of the loan lies heavily with those who are responsible for it.

An examination of the purposes for which the loan has been contracted reveals the ugly fact that the case against the loan is not merely a *prima facie* one but has solid foundations. On analysis it appears that a part of it is intended for capital expenditure and the rest to be utilized for paying off maturing treasury bills. True, to meet permanent requirements by long-term debts has the sanction of all sober economists, if they cannot reasonably be met out of current revenues and provided, however, regular arrangements are made for wiping off those debts as they fall due. Assuming, however, that the above provisos have been adhered to, there can be no reasonable objection to that portion of the loan which is to be utilized for capital expenditure. But the curious practice of contracting long-term loans for paying off short-term ones is one that is contrary to all canons of public finance. Still, the Government of India is persisting in the much-maligned practice of repaying maturing sterling treasury bills by long-term sterling loans. The part of the issue that goes to the repayment of maturing bills is clearly open to serious objection.

The advocates of a rupee loan have been told that the Indian money market is at present extremely 'tight' and that it can only be tapped by rates extremely unfavourable to the Government. The implication obviously is that the London market offered better facilities for the loan operation. Subsequent facts, however, tell a very different tale. The underwriters are reported to have been saddled with 23 per cent. of the issue, the market having subscribed only 77 per cent. The London money market refused to absorb the loan. This is a hard fact which the Government will be put to its wit's end to gainsay.

It has been further argued that the loan in London is intended to give respite to the Indian money market and, be it added, at the expense of the London market. Surely, such a happy consummation could have been easily achieved by the Government securing temporary accommodation in the shape of sterling bills. The ill-concealed uncomfortable fact is that the Government is desperately in love with London market, but London is evidently not enamoured of it. That is the pity of it.

The terms of the loan and the cold shoulder given to such a favourable offer go far to justify the dark forebodings that the Government's persistence in the external loan policy would seriously prejudice India's international financial standing. A comparison with the loan issue of January, 1928, brings this point into sharp relief. The recent loan issue is precisely of the same nature as that of the previous year. Both are on a 4½ per cent. basis. Nor is the present issue very big, it being only £10 m. But—herein comes in the difference—while the issue price of the loan of 1928 was £91½, the issue price on this occasion is £91. To this extent undeniably the credit of the Government of India has deteriorated. Add to this the fact that even such favourable terms could not successfully woo London into accepting the offer. The situation is surely far from encouraging.

Attempts have been made to explain away this attitude of London towards India by ascribing it to certain extraneous and temporary factors. A number of factors is alleged to have conspired to make London shy of India. Briefly, the causes that have made for this change in the attitude of London are alleged to be political rather than economic. This, by the way, entirely gives away the case that London at the time was a comparatively favourable market. Political reasons do not tell the whole story. The fact that London refused to absorb this loan while last year's issue was subscribed the very day it was launched is too much for political causes alone to explain away. Partly, no doubt, it was due to political turmoil; something must also be ascribed to the stringency that London money market must be beginning to experience ; but partly it is certainly due to loss of credit abroad—a fact that is bound to ensue if external loan operations are persisted in. Deterioration of credit is the real reason for this unfortunate happening, and political factors have simply served to aggravate the situation.

A suggestion was made in certain quarters that a portion of the loan raised might be utilized in purchasing sterling securities so as to put the Government in possession of adequate resources for expanding currency in order to tide over the impending 'tightness' in the money-market in the coming busy season. The suggestion is fantastic, but coming as it does from supposedly responsible quarters it calls for consideration. Emergency issue, to facilitate which the suggestion has obviously been thrown out, calls for makeshift and temporary arrangements. The idea of securing emergency issue by contracting long-term credits has an air of novelty and originality but is not one likely to command much respect except as a *pis aller*.

We wish these were all that could possibly be said against the sterling loan. Unfortunately, however, these do not exhaust the tale of mischief wrought by it. Apart from the fact that if the Government persists in its reckless policy of external loan operations, the borrowing rate will have to be considerably raised and further liabilities will have to be undertaken with the result that they will produce reactions on the general budgetary position of India, the method by which the loan has been issued is itself open to objection. The unseemly haste with which the loan has been pushed without due publicity smacks too much of partiality and has successfully shut out Indian investors. If all classes of investors were welcomed to the subscription, it would have added at least one silver lining to the otherwise dark picture. But we forget India Government's affection for London would not brook any outside interference, least of all Indian.

PRABODHCHANDRA GHOSH

SOME ORIENTALISM IN SHELLEY

Shelley is often called 'the poet's poet.' Kalidas might well be called that: Tagore might be styled the same. The Indian soul because of its peculiar heritage can understand a 'poet's poet' better than most others. Thus though the world be deaf to Shelley's message, for the India of the Renaissance, for the fast-changing rapidly-moving India of to-day, this message is particularly arresting, because his ideals are in unison with Indian thought.

Shelley was a prophet of Liberty. He has been called a 'revolutionary.' He was nobler. He was a *Satyagrahi*! Hear his own words,

> " Stand ye calm and resolute
> Like a forest close and mute,
> With folded arms and looks that are
> Weapons of an unvanquished war."[1]

Here, as in *Prometheus Unbound*, that great and magnificent symbolical drama, he clearly shows that he believed in spiritual resistance which is non-violent, and which is anything but Occidental! It is this phase of his political poems which makes his appeal keener to the Indian of these stirring times. In his *Revolt of Islam* he says,

> " If blood be shed, 'tis but a change and choice
> Of bonds,...from slavery to cowardice
> A wretched fall!......Uplift thy charmed voice.
> Pour on those evil men the love that lies
> Hovering within those spirit-soothing eyes! "

Does this not seem like a melodious kindred voice from the dim distant regions of the Beyond coming to us on the waves of sunlight to hearten, to inspire, and to console ? How near Shelley seems to us!

Here is another message he sends India,

"Recede not! pause not now! thou art grown old
But Hope will make thee young, for Hope and youth
Are children of one mother, even Love."

Indeed, Shelley seems to have used Godwin's theory of liberty and universal equality only to build on it his own finer superstructure. We cannot deny Godwin's influence on his political thought, just as we cannot deny Calderon's influence on his poetic technique. But it is evident on a careful study of Godwin and Shelley that Shelley improved on his model, and this improvement seems to be due to Shelley's Oriental mind which could perceive finer distinctions and hear deeper melodies where the Western mind saw and heard only surface chaos and discord. Thus in *Revolt of Islam* he says,

"Eldest of things, divine Equality!
Wisdom and Love are but the slaves of thee,
The Angels of thy sway."

Or again in *Prometheus Unbound*, Hercules the symbol of strength comes to Prometheus the symbol of endurance, and says,

"Most glorious amongst spirits, thus doth Strength
To Wisdom, Courage and long-suffering Love
And thee, who are the form they animate,
Minister like a slave."

Thus does the fearless prophet of Liberty a century ago proclaim to the world in poetic form what Mahatma Gandhi is exhibiting in actual life to-day. Here Shelley anticipated Gandhi. Let us see how Shelley found a complement in the work of another Indian, Tagore.

It bears witness to the spiritual kinship of two poets separated by time and space, different in social environment, when one can unconsciously complete the unfinished dream of the other. Shelley says in *Revolt of Islam*,

> "For with strong speech I tore the veil that hid
> Nature and Truth, and Liberty, and Love,...
> As one who from some mountain's pyramid
> Points to the unrisen sun."

A century has brought the daybreak. Tagore sees it. Beginning where Shelley left, Tagore completes Shelley's vision,

> "Rejoice!
> For night's fetters are broken, the dreams have vanished:
> The word has rent its veils, the buds of morning are opened;
> Awake, O sleeper?
> Light's greetings spread from the East to the West,
> And at the ramparts of the ruined prison rise the paeans
> of victory."

The Englishman's 'unrisen sun' becomes the Indian's 'dawn of victory.' And Shelley anticipating this dawn cries,

> "Victory, victory to the prostrate nations!
> Thoughts have gone forth whose powers can sleep no more."

The pen trembles to attempt any kind of summary of Shelley's remarkable songs of liberty. These marvellous songs that are enthused with poetic fervour, winged with lyrical joy, challenge the most skilled fowler in the literary world to trap them in his net of words. Let those who have a relish for poetry lend their ears to these lyrical cries of the soul of one of the world's great prophets of liberty, his *Ode to Naples,* his *Ode to Liberty,* his *Song to the Men of England,* and soon they will find themselves in the small hours of the morning tingling in every nerve as they come to the conclusions of *Prometheus Unbound, Revolt of Islam, Queen Mab.* To read one of Shelley's poems on liberty is to be tempted to read another. For it is no wily politician bandying words: it is the sincere heart of a man panting after freedom. The words glow with the fire of the poet's soul. In his preface to *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley distinctly words his purpose in writing on these themes of liberty. "My purpose," he says, "has hitherto been to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence; aware that until the mind can love and admire, and trust and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness." Does this not sound familiar to those who have had ascetic discipline for many centuries to fit the mind to 'love and admire, and trust and hope and endure,' to those who belong to this land of ascetics—ascetic politicians, ascetic poets, ascetic reformers? Let us then hazard the hope that Shelley's prophecy comes true for the India of our day, and she becomes, in his words,

> " A nation
> Made free by love, a mighty brotherhood
> Linked by a jealous interchange of good."

It is easier to estimate the worth of a prophet of liberty than it is to judge a poet. Is not the poet too erratic, too eccentric, too unique to be brought to the bar of a common standard of judgment? What is the poet's mission? The poet's mission is to endeavour to bring for his age a glimpse of Beauty-Love-Truth so that those who respond may be educated to find Reality in the midst of illusion, to feel Joy in the pulse of pain, to grasp Eternity in a moment of time. The office of poetry, like the function of a flute, is to express the subtle silence of the poet's soul in the aching, flowing music of joy. Beauty is incarnate joy: beauty inhales love and breathes out joy, incandescent joy. So poetry is an eternal passion for Beauty; and this Beauty includes in itself Love and Truth. Does Shelley endorse these? In his *Defence of Poetry*, he says, "Poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and it adds beauty to that which is deformed."

So we find Shelley succeeding in his attempt to invest with a certain charm even the weird and fantastic. Take for example his description of the Poet in *Alastor*, a figure which agrees in many respects with the Exile in Kalidasa's *Meghaduta.* Shelley says,

> "And now his limbs were lean; his scattered hair
> Seared by the autumn of strange suffering
> Sang dirges in the wind; his listless hand
> Hung like dead bone within its withered skin;
> Life and all the lustre that consumed it, shone
> As in a furnace burning secretly
> From his dark eyes along."

Then with a master stroke the artist endeavours to add in the next few lines a charm to this weird and ghostly description. He says,

> "The mountaineer
> Encountering on some dizzy precipice
> That spectral form, deemed that the spirit of the wind
> With lightning eyes, and eager breath, and feet
> Disturbing not the drifted snow, had paused
> In its career:
> But youthful maidens, taught
> By nature, would interpret half the woe
> That wasted him, would call him with false names
> Brother and friend, would press his pallid hand
> At parting, and watch, dim through tears, the path
> Of his departure from their father's door."

The magical infusion of the poet's feeling with his thought has turned the thought, which by itself is repulsive, into a touching picture of tragic beauty. A tear is the highest tribute that can be paid to Beauty. Do Shelley's lines not evoke such a tribute from many a heart that is yet not petrified? It may be noted in passing that the picture of the Yaksha in *Meghaduta* is similarly one that becomes beautiful because of the tragic element of his exile.

Let us hush the mind and shut out from it all conflicting assumptions to see how poetry exalts the beauty of the most beautiful. Who will deny the supreme loveliness of music which entrances the human heart and leaves it transformed, which catches it up in the midst of miseries to a vision of joy? And yet in Shelley's description of it its essential loveliness is exalted because it is made more palpably felt. In *Prometheus Unbound* he says,

> " My soul is an enchanted boat,
> Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
> Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
> And thine doth like an angel sit
> Beside the helm conducting it,
> Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.
> It seems to float ever, for ever,
> Upon this many-winding river,
> Between mountains, woods, abysses,
> A paradise of wildernesses;
> Till, like in slumber bound
> Borne to the ocean I float around
> Into a sea profound, of ever-spreading sound."

Is it after all merely a description of music or is it music, music interpreted in words, in cadence, in rime? Does this not help to illustrate that 'poetry includes whatsoever of painting can be made visible to the mind's eye, and whatsoever of music can be conveyed by sound and proportion without singing or instrumentation'? Leigh Hunt says with subtle wit, "Music and painting are proud to be related to poetry, and poetry loves and is proud of them." Leigh Hunt had a deep truth in mind when he shaped this epigram. There is some inscrutable affinity between poetry, painting, and music so that the poet uses colour and sound and yet combines them, and combining them makes his appeal felt to the eye and the ear at one and the same instant. This characteristic is chiefly Oriental. The Oriental sings his poems, and he thus sings the picture that the poet may have painted in words. This is Shelley's first Oriental tendency.

It is not too much to say that the poet is a devotee, a *bhakta* of Beauty-Love-Truth. Faith is essential to devotion. The purer his devotion the greater the poet. Beauty, which includes Love, Love which includes Truth, Truth which is in itself beautiful, this Beauty-Love-Truth guides the poet's vessel henceforth.

Shelley's unrestrained devotion to this ideal of Beauty; his impassioned yearning after Beauty; his panting desire to capture Beauty in the caressing arms of his poetry,—entitle him to rank with the greatest poets. We find it true in Shelley's poetry that it turns to loveliness the commonest and most trivial fact, just as the sun turns into a diamond the obscure dew-drop on some hidden lotus-leaf. A critic has said that 'a great poet is a creator capable of growing from his soil of intuition flowers of art, creations living a life of their own and therefore reflecting in their variety the divine variety of nature." Shelley expresses the same truth thus: "Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man."

Thus in his immortal *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* he cries,

"I vowed that I would dedicate my powers
To thee and thine...... have I not kept my vow?
With beating heart and streaming eyes, even now
I call the phantoms of a thousand hours
Each from his voiceless grave: they have in visioned bowers
Of studious zeal or love's delight
Outwatched with me the envious night——
They know that never joy illumed my brow
Unlinked with hope that thou wouldst free
This world from its dark slavery,
That thou—O awful LOVELINESS,
Wouldst give whate'er these words cannot express."

Shelley raises his whole heart as an offering to his goddess, Beauty. He lays his whole life at her feet. But Beauty for him is no logical proposition in the abstract only. For him Beauty is the one unchanging Reality in a world of deception. His is an emotional approach, and the object of his devotion is Beauty-Love-Truth. Thus we find that the difference between the poetry of Shelley, say, on the one hand, and Wordsworth and Tennyson on the other, is that the two latter fail to soften the glaring thought-object in evidence though they attempt to glorify this thought with a bright halo of feeling; while the poetry of Shelley is deeply dyed in his emotional heart. Shelley's whole personality is emotionally unified to the central idea of Beauty-Love-Truth. Shelley's poetry is panting emotion envisaged in terms of ideation. For Tennyson and Wordsworth and Bridges their poetry is merely the cement to fix the bricks of thought, and feeling for them is just an ingredient mixed with their cement. Now this type of poetry is not necessarily inferior to the Shelleyan type. Only it is essentially different. The former is more educative than pleasing, and appeals to a certain type of mind which, like the typical British and sometimes American mind, is scrupulously Utilitarian! While the other transports the soul into an ethereal realm where the very contact with joy and beauty refines and exalts.

I shall illustrate the Utilitarian mind in two quotations from Matthew Arnold, a true interpreter of the British mind. His last sentence in his essay on Wordsworth is that his poems "will co-operate with the benign tendencies in human nature and society, and will, in their degree be *efficacious* in making men wiser, better and happier." Mark, I pray you, the word "efficacious." Now note his sentence which concludes his essay on Shelley. "And in poetry, no less than in life, he is a beautiful and *ineffectual* angel, beating in the void his luminous wings." The word "ineffectual" stands out conspicuously. Matthew Arnold would have us believe that we must never sing for a song's sake; must never gaze at a rose for the rose's sake; must beware of doing anything "ineffectual," anything that has no set motive behind it. "Efficacy" must be our shibboleth... yes, if we desire to degenerate into Utilitarians! How different is our own Indian conception of *Nishkamya-karma* which teaches that nothing should be done with a motive! Is Shelley not nearer the Oriental mind? Shelley's cry to the Skylark is

> "Teach me half the gladness
> That thy soul must know,
> Such harmonious madness
> From my lips would flow,
> The world would listen then as I am listening now."

Verily, Shelley's "harmonious madness" is more poetic than Wordsworth's "unmusical sanity" or Arnold's "prosaic utilitarianism." Shelley knew there were critics of Arnold's school, votaries of "efficacy." What else inspired the conclusions of Shelley's *Sensitive Plant* and of *The Woodman and the Nightingale?* The latter ends,

> "The world is full of woodmen who expel
> Love's gentle Dryads from the haunts of life,
> And vex the nightingales in every dell."

Let us watch and pray lest we enter into temptation and become such 'woodmen who expel Love's gentle Dryads from the haunts of life and vex the nightingales in every dell.'

This typical British utilitarianism is characteristic of Wordsworth and Tennyson. For them the eye is a scientifically accurate lens of an optical apparatus adjusted and focussed for a purpose; and this fact is evinced by the photographic effect of much of their treatment of Nature. The descriptions are correct to the minutest detail. Nature has been observed—by the eye of a human camera. But a poem is not a photograph. A poem is a living, moving pageant. In Shelley the eye is the window of the soul, and this soul flies out and up with the lark, dances on the waves of light, floats on the cloud, trembles beside the sensitive plant, throbs with the bounding pulse of the sea, glows with the fire of the setting sun, and he pleads with the West Wind,

> "Be thou, Spirit fierce,
> My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!
> Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
> Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!
>
> ……………………………………………
>
> Be through my lips to unawakened earth
> The trumpet of a prophecy!"

And you hear the sound of the wind and feel the rush of its uncurbed motion.

This leads us to the *lyrical* quality of Shelley's poetry. His lyrics have been judged by eminent authorities to be of infinitely richer charm than his dramas. When the nectar of inspiration thrills Shelley, it creates a sense of exhilaration that sets his whole being vibrating: this exhilaration must find expression only in rhythm. And Shelley's inspiration does not flag before his expression is complete as does that of Wordsworth. There is in Wordsworth too much staid composure, too much respectability. He is like an officer of the Indian Civil Service, admiting of no gait but the grave magisterial walk. Take his *Skylark*. He opens on a forced note of pseudo-buoyancy:

"Up with me! Up with me into the clouds."

It is the false elation of a police officer trying to be playful with unarmed *satyagrahis*. He says in the second line:

"For thy song, lark, is strong."

He tries again. For thirteen lines Wordsworth tries to shout himself into the clouds. The frightened lark flies away. Wordsworth fails. And concludes pathetically:

"I, with my fate contented, will plod on,
And hope for higher raptures, when life's day is done."

This is prose, not poetry. It makes you feel your feet heavy with galling fetters. The soul of the poet brooks no defeat, betrays no submission. It challenges and accepts challenges everywhere. A poet never *plods on*. Poetry never should *plod on*. Like a young god the soul of the poet runs along the shining spaces of the stars, until it has glimpsed what lies beyond. It does not rest until it has tasted the "higher raptures" even in this world, be the struggle ever so keen. In the youthful spirit of the true poet Rupert Brooke says,

"I'll break and forge the stars anew,
Shatter the heavens with a song;
……………………………………

Then only in the empty spaces,
Death, walking very silently,
Shall fear the glory of our face,
Through all the dark infinity."

Let us leave Wordsworth plodding on and compare Shelley's *Skylark.*

"Hail to thee blithe spirit!"

In the very rhythm of the first line Shelley succeeds in expressing the skyward yearning awakened in his restless soul by the song of the bird.

"Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest
Like a cloud of fire;
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest."

Shelley's words float in the air. His rhythm is the rhythm of rising into space. Earth is left behind. The bird ascends. The poet ascends. You ascend with him,

"In the golden lightning
Of the sunken sun,
O'er which clouds are brightening,
Thou dost float and run,
Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun."

Shelley is like an Oriental singer who has caught the soul-stirring strain of some distant melody. His feelings beat time to that music: his thoughts dance to that cadence: he must sing,

"Like a poet hidden
In the light of thought,
Singing hymns unbidden."

Shelley sings. Wordsworth writes. Shelley, it is true, wrote his poems, but not as an aid to composition, as Tennyson or Bridges might do. He wrote only for record. He is essentially a singer—the supreme lyrist of the English tongue.

When the West Wind blows over him his own being longs to rise into its tempestuous dance: and he cries,

> " O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud! "

His mind was so highly sensitive that it could respond to the gentlest heart-beat of the slenderest plant, to the lightest touch of the wandering breeze. In his response he sang of those phases of Nature which drew his soul. Hence, he could interpret Nature with a fine, exquisite, because spontaneous, accuracy. When, for instance, he says of the Skylark,

> " Pourest thy full heart
> In profuse strains of unpremeditated art."

it is not a cold description of the bird singing; but the bird's song itself rhythmically intuitived by a sensitive soul. Again, as Madariga points out, in the West Wind Shelley truly feels and renders in his succession of epithets the flight of leaf after leaf:

> " Yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red,"

and as they are collected by the wind, so is the weight of the next line heaped up in its first syllable,

> " Pestilence-stricken multitudes..."

So also when the poet speaks of the glacier,

> " The glaciers creep
> Like snakes that watch their prey,"

he brings the glaciers before the reader's eye, and the image is palpably clear. Or, speaking of the flight of a horse, he says,

> " And his hoofs ground the rocks to fire and dust,"

you can hear the swift clatter of hoofs—and it is gone. There is nothing static about these descriptions. They are graphic. They grip. There is a magic in Shelley's descriptions. You sit with bated breath admiring what he conjures up before your gaze, for he touches everything with quickening life.

John Stuart Mill says, "Wordsworth economizes an image, and detains it until he has distilled all the poetry out of it, and it will not yield a drop more: Shelley lavishes his with a profusion which is unconscious because it is inexhaustible." Herein lies another of Shelley's tendencies to Orientalism. To illustrate Mill's verdict we have only to turn to Shelley's well-known *Epipsychidion*, and better known *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. In the former there is a string of metaphors for the heroine, Emilia:

> "Sweet Benediction in the eternal curse!
> Veiled Glory of this lampless universe!
> Thou Moon beyond the clouds! Thou living Form
> Among the dead! Thou Star above the storm!
> Thou Wonder, and thou Beauty, and thou Terror!
> Thou Harmony of Nature's art! Thou Mirror
> In whom, as in the splendour of the sun
> All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on!"

And only a page later Shelley breaks forth again,

> "Art thou not void of guile,
> A lovely soul formed to be blest and bless?
> A well of sealed and secret happiness,
> Whose waters like blithe light and music are
> Vanquishing dissonance and gloom? A star
> Which moves not in the moving heavens, alone?
> A smile amid dark frowns? A gentle tone
> Amid rude voices? A beloved light?
> A Solitude, a Refuge, a Delight?
> A lute, which those whom love has taught to play
> Make music on, to soothe the roughest day
> And lull fond grief asleep? A buried treasure?
> A cradle of young thoughts of wingless pleasure,
> A violet-shrouded grave of Woe?—I measure
> The world of fancies, seeking one like thee
> And find—alas!—mine own infirmity."

Nowhere in the range of English literature does one meet such a profusion of images. A similar attempt, one of many, is made by Kalidasa in *Meghaduta* :

> " Your slender limbs in the Priyangu creepers,
> Your glances in the eyes of the gazelle,
> The loveliness of your face in the moon,
> Your hair adorned with jewels in the peacock's plumage,
> And the sportive movements of your eyebrows in the ripples of the river,
> Fondly I sought:
> But oh misfortune! nowhere could I find your likeness."

Is it not symbolical of the struggle of the human mind to express in the language of its time and place some ineffable beauty like that which made a Keats burst forth impulsively,

> " Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought,
> As doth eternity."

The second quotation from the *Hymn* is to show Shelley's profusion of similes.

> " The awful shadow of some unseen Power
> Floats though unseen amongst us,—visiting
> This narrow world with as inconstant wing
> As summer winds that creep from flower to flower,—
> Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain shower,
> It visits with inconstant glance
> Each human heart and countenance;
> Like hues and harmonies of evening,—
> Like clouds in starlight widely spread,—
> Like memory of music fled,—
> Like aught that for its sake may be
> Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery."

It is the business of a poet to realise and reveal this mystery. Sometimes, indeed, the passion for images gets such a hold of Shelley that he throws up a simile to illustrate another simile. For instance,

> " I flitted, like a dizzy moth, whose flight
> Is as a dead leaf's in the owlet night."

Stopford Brooke seems to consider it Shelley's weakness that he was "unable, through eagerness, to omit, to select, to co-ordinate his images." As if nature omits, selects, and co-ordinates her colours flashed upon sunset sky in autumn. Omission, selection, co-ordination have value in all creative art. Yet a certain reckless, uncalculating prodigality too is necessary for creative perfection. A man who owns but a tin-can might well make it serve many purposes in turn: it might be a pitcher, a waste-bin, a pannier, a utensil for cooking. But a man who owns different vessels for different purposes might be allowed to display his wealth. Nature ever changes. Moods are shifting. Even like nature did Shelley's imagination build, unbuild, rebuild, image after image to express the changing thoughts and shifting moods—that delicious throng, which crowded in upon him from all sides. Before he had thought of himself like a moth, he pictured the moth like a dead leaf. His soul moulded by Nature had learnt Nature's passion for the changing. His agile, lithe imagination could not be kept in leash. Not to change were to be dead according to Shelley. His life amply illustrates this.

Is this doctrine impeachable? Shelley is blamed for it. He is censured for his application of it in the domain of his affections. To do justice to Shelley let us leave his doctrine of change for a moment and try to understand first something of his ideal of Love. Let us open his *Epipsychidion*, "a little song of love." It is his apotheosis of love. It gives an insight of his Love-ideal. In a letter written to Robert Browning and sent with this poem, Shelley says, "As to real flesh and blood, you know that I do not deal in those articles." Love, Shelley idealized. Love he idolized:

> " I loved, alas! our life is love "

says he. "Shelley," says Medwin in his paper on Emilia Viviani (the heroine of *Epipsychidion*), " thought that to pass from one state of existence to another, was not death, but a new development of life; that we must love as we live, through all eternity;

and that they who have not this persuasion, know nothing of life, nothing of love; that they who do not make the universe a fountain whence they may literally draw new life and love, know nothing of one or the other, and are not fated to know anything of it." Indeed, Shelley pants forth,

> " I know
> That love makes all things equal: I have heard
> By mine own heart this truth averred:
> The spirit of the worm beneath the sod
> In love and worship, blends itself with God."

And so did Shelley long eagerly in love and worship to blend mystically with Beauty-Love-Truth, which is God. If he had a wife like Tulsidasa's who could marshal courage enough to tell the sensitive and ideal lover, " If you spent on God half the worship that you waste on this perishable form of mine, O what might you not achieve," Shelley may have become one of the world's greatest mystics, greatest saints. He still remains one of the greatest lovers, greatest singers, greatest seers, who saw the Vision Beautiful and cried out,

> " Lost, lost, for ever lost,
> In the wide pathless desert of dim sleep
> That beautiful shape! "

At least Shelley had the capacity to feel the loss. And Arnold wisely estimates this to be "ineffectual," a waste. But for those of the Orient it is very effectual, there is no other influence as refining as the pain of that cry of Shelley's at the loss of "that beautiful shape." Our own poets have felt the same aching desire and tasted the same vexing disappointment. Tagore says, " I try to grasp Beauty; it eludes me, leaving only the body in my hands." And Shelley would smile approval at Tagore's concluding line, " How can the body touch the flower which only the spirit may touch?" Let India interpret Shelley to the West!

It would sound cheap presumption to say " Let India interpret Shelley to the West" if Shelley himself did not ask for such an interpretation, if he had not been what he was. He was the most un-English of Englishmen, the least patriotic of English poets. Byron in spite of his separation from the land of his birth remained English. In his heart of hearts he still felt himself an English aristocrat. But Shelley was at heart an Oriental ; and he himself could have lamented the accident of his birth on English soil! His mind, his imagination, his emotions, passions, prejudices, his whole make-up was Oriental. James Cousins says, "What Shelley expressed of thought and attitude is the traditional possession of the East; he expressed out of knowledge or intuition." (*Renaissance in India,* p. 291.) It is evident that Oriental influences had filtered down into Shelley's thought-world, though one may not be able to trace the process. Take for example his lines,

> " New shapes they still may weave,
> New gods, new laws, receive,
> Bright or dim are they as the robes they last
> On Death's bare ribs had cast."

Is it not plausible to suggest that Shelley was conscious of the Indian philosophical doctrine of *Karma* and rebirth?

Or again in *Revolt of Islam* he says,

> " My brethren, we are free! the fruits are glowing
> Beneath the stars, and the night winds are flowing
> O'er the ripe corn, the birds and beasts are dreaming—
> Never again may blood of bird or beast
> Stain with its venomous stream a human feast,
> To the pure skies in accusation steaming."

Is this sentiment not very un-English, sharing of the Indian idea of *Ahimsa,* non-injury to all living creatures ? The words might well have come from some Brahmin poet, some Buddhist monk. Freedom means respecting the freedom of others. To kill any living creatures for one's pleasure is to abuse one's freedom.

The Orient had a charm for Shelley. He thought Nature in the East was more lavish with her wealth of colour, richness of fragrance, delight of melody, where the very breeze is laden with dreamy sighs of passionate lovers, and the twilight is illumined with the costly jewels of maidens complexioned like gold. In that fine though pathetic poem, *Alastor*, he takes his hero, who is but Shelley in disguise, far away from the West, far away from all Occidental haunts of chivalry and romance,

> " Till in the vale of *Cashmir* far within
> Its loveliest dell where odorous plants entwine
> Beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower
> Beside a sparkling rivulet he stretched
> His languid limbs."

And here, in Cashmir, in the East, he beheld the Vision he had sought so restlessly all his life.

India, I feel, was especially dear to his poetic soul, being, as it notoriously is, a land of dreamers. In *Prometheus Unbound* he cannot write sixty lines without remembering India, and Prometheus says,

> " Ye icy springs, stagnant with winkling frost,
> Which vibrated to hear me, and crept
> Shuddering through India ! "

And so the poet continues, and refers to India four times in that great poem. The very name, India, seems to conjure up for his lively imagination, vast stretches of romantic solitude, sun-kissed peaks covered with snow, wild forests peopled with gayly-coloured birds and handsome stags and lithe leopards. This is not all. In her Preface to the poet's Complete Works, Mrs. Shelley tells us that as early as 1817 he read Arrian's *Historica Indica.* Would he, who was so fastidious about his reading, have wasted time over this book without having a genuine interest in the country ? It is worth observing that in a letter to Peacock, dated 11th January, 1822, Shelley says, "I wish I had something better to do than furnish this jingling food for the hunger of oblivion called verse, but I have not ; and since you give me no encouragement about India, I cannot have." It implies beyond dispute that Shelley longed to go to India. Peacock's footnote throws more light on the matter. It runs thus, " He (Shelley) had expressed a desire to be employed politically at the court of a native prince, and I told him that such employment was restricted to the regular service of the East India Company." My claim, then, that India and the Orient had a peculiar fascination for Shelley will not seem groundless, though some may still think it daring.

See how Shelley loved an Indian flower, the Champa, famous in legends for its " lingering perfume." In a lyric entitled *The Indian Serenade*, the poet says,

> " The wandering airs they faint
> On the dark, the silent stream—
> And the Champak's odours fail
> Like sweet thoughts in a dream."

He not only knew the name of the flower but knew also when the sensuous perfume of the *champa* fills the air with a cloying sweetness. Do his lines not breathe the charming perfume of the flower which says in Rabindranath's words, "I, the Champa flower, carry the perfume of the sun in my heart ? "

In Shelley's lines,

> " Away, away from men and towns,
> To the wild woods and the downs,"

ending

> " Where the touch of Nature's art
> Harmonizes heart to heart,"

he seems to share Kalidasa's Indian desire for the seclusion, beauty, and delight of the forest glades, where,

> " While daylight held
> The sky, the Poet kept mute conference
> With his still soul "

and wandered forth under the soothing moonlight to commune with Nature. He feels with the Indian poet the sheer joy of being alone in silence with the life instinct in Nature, to feel its pulsing heart, and grow one with it. Like the Indian poet he finds Beauty ruling over these lonely haunts.

Or, in one of his "Songs of Love" Shelley says,

> " My faint spirit was sitting in the light
> Of thy looks, my love ;
> It panted for thee like the hind at noon
> For the brooks, my lòve."

There is something undefinably Oriental in this, in metaphor as well as rhythm. It reminds one of the Persian poets. The very rhythm is not the effect of any tripping English metre, but an imitation of the Persian. Often Shelley's poems defy scansion, and for that very reason are beyond such analysis. His lyrical tendency is decidedly the most characteristic Oriental trait in Shelley. It is this lyrical quality of his verse that has drawn kindred souls of poets in India, until we find Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Toru Dutt, Henry Derozio, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, and others—all in turn have been attracted by Shelley who for the first time gave a lilt to English poetry. We have dealt with this lyrical quality in detail elsewhere.

In passing let us compare, for example, Shelley's song on the *Nightingale* with Tagore's lines describing the effect of the song of the *Kokil*. Shelley says,

> "And every form
> That worshipped in the temple of the night,
> Was awed into delight, and by the charm
> Girt as with an interminable zone,
> Whilst the sweet bird, whose music was a storm
> Of sound, shook forth the dull oblivion
> Out of dreams ; harmony became love."

And Tagore says the Kokil's

" Fresh liquid notes drop upon the tuneless toil of the human crowd, adding music to lovers' whispers, to mothers' kisses, to children's laughter. They flow over our thoughts like a stream over pebbles, rounding them in beauty every unconscious moment." It is not merely an accidental similarity of thoughts, but an essential kinship of nature. Both the English and the Indian feel the lilt of a bird's song until their own speech is caught up in that lilt.

Again, compare the effect that Beauty on Music has on Shelley and on Kalidasa. In *Mont Blanc* Shelley says,

> "And when I gaze on thee
> I seem as in a trance sublime and strange
> To muse on my own separate phantasy,
> My own, my human mind, which passively
> Now renders and receives fast influencings
> Holding an unremitting interchange
> With the clear universe of things around."

Kalidasa in a surer accent says, in *Sakuntala*,

" The sight of the Beautiful, the hearing of sweet sounds makes even a happy soul sad ; because vague recollections of things in another life arise in the mind."

The currents of their thoughts run parallel and almost merge into one when Shelley speaks of the ' interchange with the clear universe of things around ' and Kalidasa speaks of ' vague recollections of things in another life.'

It hardly seems too much to say that there is a subtle Oriental charm in much of Shelley's poetry which cannot be analysed or categorized, but must be felt. Is that not after all the chief virtue of all great poetry that it cannot be reduced to formula and category but must be felt, realised, enjoyed by a living human mind ? Why does a simile thrill one's whole being sometimes ? Because it suits the object? Yes, partly because of that, but more because it sets the lute-strings of one's imagination vibrating and this vibration thrills one. Many of the truly Shelleyan metaphors and similes are essentially Eastern, in delicate detail, in rich copiousness, in ornate grandeur sometimes, in naive homeliness often, and even in atmosphere and settings.

This may be one reason that accounts for the unfortunate lack of adequate appreciation accorded to Shelley's poems by the average English reader of poetry. Let us see a favourite image of Shelley's, which appears in *Alastor* and again in *A Summer Evening Churchyard.* He says,

> " The pallid evening twines its beaming hair
> In duskier braids around the languid eyes of day."

Who knows that the poet was not thinking of the Indian legend of Uma's sport with Shiva when she blindfolded him with her hair and all the world grew dim and dark ?

The less frequent habit of finding the essential harmony between concrete objects and abstract thoughts or feelings, and of comparing one with the other, is also an Oriental trait. It is rarely found in the whole range of English poetry. For example, Tagore's line, " The spring flowers break out like the passionate pain of unspoken love." Compare with this Shelley's lines,

> " Until an envious wind crept by,
> Like an unwelcome thought
> Which from the mind's too faithful eye
> Blots one dear image out."

For the brooding seers of the East, for these unpractical dreamers of dreams, for these men who spend half the day in introspection, it is natural and easier to understand the abstract and to illustrate the concrete by some beautiful image taken from the dream-realm of the abstract. Shelley is strangely at home in this type of comparisons.

It was Keats who for the first time expressed in English what the East believed ages before to be an important constituent of true poetry. Keats employed the expression ' fine excess ' to define this constituent. He said, " Poetry should surprise by a fine excess." Excess, you would complain, is evil. Temperance is the slogan of the day. Temperance may be praiseworthy; ' a fine excess ' is admirable. Are brows being knitted at an apparently absurd statement ? Temperance makes prose. ' A fine excess' alone makes poetry. Call a lily a white flower and give its genus : this is temperate : this is prose. But call a lily 'the fairy of the garden :' this is 'a fine excess :' this is poetry. Excess is not poetry, but a *fine excess* is poetic in quality. To take common facts and incidents from the confinement of their humdrum associations and to give them the wings of melody to soar in the sky, this is a fine excess. Every hyperbole is not a fine excess, however, but every time you lift yourself above and beyond the common level of thought, feeling and action, of mundane materialism, and look at things and people with the artist's eye, and see, like Traherne, everything irradiate with the light of Beauty-Love-Truth, you are being guilty of a fine excess. The East has revelled in it. The East has rejoiced in this search after the delicate pulse within the stem of a lotus. Indian poetry is full of it. In *Meghaduta* Kalidasa says,

> " Maidens plucking flowers with lotuses on their ears,
> Lotuses faded by the injury of contact with humid cheeks."

How beautiful! What fine excess! Shelley has this tendency to a remarkable degree. Let us see just one specimen. He says in the *Sensitive Plant,* that poem alive with delicate sensibility,

> "Her step seemed to pity the grass it prest."

What a light step it must have been! What a tender heart she must have had! In Shelley one is seldom left with a sense of embarrassment when fine excess degenerates into coarse exaggeration. Even when it is exaggeration, extravagance of the most palpable kind, Shelley touches it with the magic wand of his fancy : and behold, it is lovely.

This Oriental trait in Shelley seems to be linked up with the Oriental ideal of Beauty which Shelley shared to an appreciable degree. In his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,* he says,

> " Spirit of Beauty that dost consecrate
> With thy own hues all thou dost shine upon
> Of human thought or form—where art thou gone?"

Compare with these, Tagore's lines,

> " Spirit of Beauty, how could you, whose radiance over-brims the sky,
> Stand hidden behind a candle's tiny flame?
> How could a few vain words from a book rise like a mist and veil
> Her whose voice has hushed the heart of earth into ineffable calm? "

The vision of immortality and of the omnipotence of the soul of man is suggested by the very elusiveness of beauty, and this stimulates in man the desire to capture that elusive beauty in some undying truth, ' to realise it in some idea of permanence.' All that can be said is that it is not easy to find parallels for Tagore's entrancing lines among the works of those poets of England, like Tennyson and Bridges, who are truly English. The very fact that Shelley can afford such parallels would help to show how much more Oriental Shelley is than his brother-poets.

Finally let us compare another passage from Tagore with a verse from Shelley, both of which illustrate an almost mystical intimacy with the Divine. Tagore says,

> " Let thy love play upon my voice and rest on my silence;
> Let it pass through my heart into all my movements.
> ....
> Let me carry thy love in my life as a harp does its music and
> Give it back to thee at last with my life."

Shelley in *Alastor* says,

> " As a long-forgotten lyre
> Suspended in the solitary dome
> Of some mysterious and deserted fane.
> I wait thy breath, Great Parent, that my strain
> May modulate with murmurs of the air,
> And motions of the forest and the sea,
> And voice of living beings, and woven hymns
> Of night and day, and the deep heart of man."

It is not a surface similarity of metaphor that I wish to illustrate, though that is remarkable, but the spiritual harmony which penetrates the very heart of the theme. Substitute ' Great

Parent' for 'Love' and Tagore's may well pass for a Shelleyan composition. And yet, Shelley was expelled from Oxford, we are told, because he was thought an atheist. Shelley is often branded as an atheist. And yet his atheism cries out "Great Parent!" and longs to be an instrument of his divine will. Tagore rightly estimates it when he says (*Creative Unity*, p. 21), "Religion in Shelley grew with his life; it was not given to him in fixed and ready-made doctrines; he rebelled against them. He had the creative mind which could only approach Truth through its joy in creative effort." And a few pages earlier he says, speaking of our poet's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, "This hymn rang out of his heart when he came to the end of his pilgrimage and stood face to face with the Divinity, glimpse of which had already filled his soul with restlessness." Tagore's Indian mind has succeeded in interpreting what to the Western mind seemed stark atheism.

It is true, however, that Shelley's philosophy is shot through and through with the bright hues of Oriental pantheism. But this does not support the view that he was an atheist. Let India interpret Shelley to the West, Shelley who through the silver-voiced trumpet of his poetry could proclaim to the West a fine Indian ideal finely expressed in English,

> "To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite
> To forgive wrongs darker than death and night;
> To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
> To love and bear; to hope till hope creates
> From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
> ....To be
> Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
> This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

If truth persists, as by its very nature it should through all change and decay; if beauty haunts the shores of the timeless; if the call of truth is the call of beauty, then, assuredly, these lines of Shelley are meant to live. The beautiful life moulded on the pattern of the Good that alone is the victorious life. Only in true poetry could this poignant truth be told so poignantly. This philosophy of conduct, this attitude to life, this challenge to the powers of darkness are worthy of a great poet, worthy of finding an abode in the shrine of poetry. Were not poets called *Vates* by the Greeks because they thought them inspired from heaven? Shelley was a prophet of liberty. He had the rare gift of musical eloquence. It was Orpheus " who by the sweet gift of his heavenly poetry withdrew men from ranging uncertainly and wandering brutishly about." In fine it is poetry which refines and civilizes man. Such is Shelley's poetry.

> "..To be
> Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
> This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

CYRIL MODAK

MY FAMILIAR DREAM

(*From the French of Paul Verlaine*)

How often do I dream a strange sweet dream
Of a fresh young woman unknown to me ;—
Unknown—but this known that her face doth beam
With life and love drawn from eternity.

That unknown woman loves me through all hours,
And I in studious silence love her too ;
She is such—no mortal man has powers
To see and love her with such passion true.

Me alone she loves and me she understands,
And so my heart's translucent crystal pure ;
For me she is a problem to all lands,
—A mystery for ever to endure !

My love for her is so severe and so sweet :
Fresh, moist was my face,—now haggard and pale ;
'Tis she alone can cool my sick brow's heat,
And save me from my weeping tear-drop's vale.

I care not whether she is dark or fair,
Whether brown or white or blonde or rosy ;
Her name I know not, nor to know e'er care,
I know she's my Life—that Eternal She.

Ah, dear she is!—I know not what I mean:
I say,—dearer far than my dearest one;
Dear as those removed from this fleshly screen,
Whom life has blotted out as dead and gone.

Her face is as pure and bright as a pearl,
Her look is calm like an image of delf;
Her voice is the voice of a dream-tossed girl,
So soft, so sweet,—I long to kill myself.

Ramesh Chandra Das

WANTED—CITIZEN-MAKING SCHOOLS.[1]

No matter what the ideals of a particular people have been, the school has always been looked upon as the maker of citizens. History shows that nations have made their education a training for the attainment of the things they valued most. Athens, prizing beauty, symmetry and harmony, both physical and intellectual, sought through her great teachers to cultivate a love of the true, the good and the beautiful. Rome, exalting law, authority and conquest, instructed her youth in oratory, so that they might advocate the claims of law, and trained them in war, so that they might introduce the Roman Eagle to the uttermost parts of the earth. The education of Monasticism was other-worldly, because the gaze of its adherents was fixed upon the hereafter. Training in arms, loyal and gallant service to the king and devotion to whatever was noble, brave and courteous, comprised the education of the Age of Chivalry, because these were the highest ideals of that period. And in our time the same thing holds true. England needed patriotic sons, valiant heroes, and dependable representatives to help her with her colonial expansion, commerce and administration, and so her outstanding schools set out to give an education which stressed courage, character and love of country. America, after her first struggle for liberty, shared with other countries of the nineteenth century an eager desire for material success, and therefore, the surest means of obtaining that treasure became the object of close study and effective practice.

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[1] A fuller treatment of this subject, and of the ways and means of enabling the school to fulfil this all-important function, will be found in the author's book, "Education out of School—A Hand-book of Extra-Curricular Activities," shortly to be issued by the Oxford University Press.

INDIA'S NEED.

But in India, education has not consciously sought to meet the needs of the times, much less to respond to the ideals of the nation—and therefore her citizens are not found in possession of the many qualities which a progressive people should manifest. Our schools have yet to devise a system of training which will aim at correcting inherent and longstanding defects and drawbacks. If it is true, as we have been told *ad nauseam*, that Indians do not co-operate with each other, that they lack initiative and practical-mindedness, that their critical faculty is never exercised, that a sense of responsibility is conspicuous by its absence, that enterprise, originality and independence are unknown—if they do not possess or exhibit these desirable and essential traits, it is evident that in India, the citizen-making institution has not yet been made to function effectively.

THE FAILURE OF THE SCHOOL.

The Indian high school has yet to recognise its responsibility for this larger social control. Even when it gives comprehension, insight and perspective, and helps the student to become conscious of his ideals, it does little to relate them to the business of being good citizens unrelated to national thought, unresponsive to national needs. Uninterested in home and community, our educational system moves on from one decade to another blessing neither him that gives nor him that receives.

The "regular" work of the school centres around knowledge, and comparatively few opportunities are provided for the practice of desirable ideas and attitudes. Education is usually treated as something stored up in text-books, certified by tradition, guaranteed by teachers, meant to be taken by children willy-nilly in uniform fashion, in order that they may become good citizens!

Or else, it is regarded as a process which can go on only in class rooms, under the supervision of school masters. But if man is to be considered as a whole, his well-being means the well-being of his body, the well-being of his spirit, as well as the well-being of his mind. The curriculum in its almost exclusive attention to one aspect has neglected these others.

This comprehensive work therefore, at the present time, cannot be carried out in the class room, much less can it be left to chance. So long as the purpose of the school is supposed to be the teaching of "examinable" subjects prescribed by the ubiquitous syllabus, so long as the mastery of book information takes the place of the building up of the whole aesthetic, intellectual, moral and physical life, so long must most activities calculated to introduce pupils to a world of broadly varied and significant education be regarded as "extra-curricular." It is this recognition that the school should seek not only to produce citizens who shall have acquired certain skills and certain abilities, but somehow to educate them so that they may take into life with them strong character, balanced judgment and robust physique, that has brought into existence what are usually called "extra-curricular activities."

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

From the point of view of the development of attitudes, the "life" of the school as distinguished from its courses of study has very large significance. This principle has long been recognised abroad. Indeed, the emphasis upon school life has probably been the chief factor in the unquestioned contribution of the great secondary schools of England: Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester. Such schools have an advantage over most of our high schools in that the entire life of their students is under institutional control during the years of schooling. Though this advantage cannot be duplicated in day schools, a great deal can be done to overcome this handicap in some measure through the intelligent development of extra-class-room activities, —clubs, societies, games, sports, scouting, dramatic performances school magazines, excursions, student councils, social service leagues and the like. The most valuable lesson, perhaps, which we may learn from English and American schools is their recognition of the value of the more purely social activities as a means of training youth.

Nor can it be forgotten that the school is the best and most appropriate agency for the promotion and proper regulation of this side of the pupils' life. Thrown together intimately during a large part of their working hours, the pupils most naturally form themselves into groups and find in extra-class-room activities, wide possibilities for self-expression, self-realisation and therefore real education. There is the added advantage of the presence of the teacher's authority which, if extended sympathetically to the social life of the pupils, assures a much better regulation of it than can possibly be secured in any other way. Besides, the social instincts of gregariousness, emulation, and altruism are especially strong during this period. These urges will cause students to form organisations, good or bad in their ultimate effect upon their life and character. And the school cannot escape the responsibility of determining whether the good or the bad effects of this social urge shall prevail.

THE NECESSARY DISCIPLINE.

Social efficiency.—The student needs to be able to understand and judge other people and get on with them. Social efficiency is therefore an invaluable aspect of the training for life. If education is not primarily a matter of lessons and examinations, but of becoming acquainted with, and adjusted to, the world of men and affairs, extra-curricular activities have a large part to play in achieving this very desirable educational objective. In the place of the old-time maxims and sermons on good social behaviour, actual practice in right social action is afforded. Unselfish service, co-operation, toleration and true democracy are ideals which are encouraged by being forced to function in actual social situations. The pupil has to exercise them if he is not to lose his place and standing in the different organisations.

Citizenship training.—There is no better method of training pupils for their rights and responsibilities as citizens. It has been said that "the good citizen is one who has sense enough to judge of public affairs ; discernment enough to choose the right officers ; self-control enough to accept the decision of majority ; honesty enough to seek the general welfare, rather than his own at the expense of the community ; and public spirit enough to face trouble or even danger for the good of the community." Not only do these activities develop the mechanics and devices of government, but they also give opportunities for the development of the true spirit of good citizenship. The pupil learns many civic virtues. He also learns many valuable lessons in the art of ruling and of being ruled. Preparing a student for membership in a democracy by training him in an autocracy or an oligarchy is an incongruity.

Moral training.—Experience has shown that there is no better way of teaching and applying lessons in ethics than through bringing about the participation of students in extra-curricular activities.

Qualities such as justice, honesty, fairplay are put to the test. "Every ounce of moral experience is worth a pound of ethical teaching." Besides, it is necessary that wholesome recreation within reach of all, should be offered to our pupils under the right kind of supervision and environmental conditions. The inner discipline developed through practice in directing his own affairs will abide with the pupil long after he has ceased to be a school boy.

Proper use of leisure.—Too long has the school ignored its responsibility for stimulating interest in avocations. The purpose of education should include the increasing, in the pupils, of the ability to utilize the common means of enjoyment—music, art, drama, literature and social intercourse, games, picnics, excursions, scouting and other out-of-door pursuits. The problem of adequate and wholesome recreation is solved to a large extent by these activities. Apart from their direct and practical value, they are invaluable for the enlargement and enrichment of personality. 'Bookworms' rarely acquire a broad culture."

Development of leadership.—Another badly neglected duty is the development of leadership. The regular curriculum is incapable of encouraging the qualities which leaders should possess. Every student who gets the training that is to be obtained through leading his fellows in some school activity, is preparing himself for leading his fellowmen in the social, civic and vocational activities of later life. The least that the school can do to promote leadership is to furnish the necessary opportunities.

The school too stands to gain by the introduction of extra-curricular activities and the provision of citizenship-training. Participation in the management of the affairs of the school tends to enlist the interest and co-operation of the pupil. This "we-feeling" towards the members of the school—the head master, the teachers and the fellow pupils—has far-reaching effects. It makes possible and available a public opinion which can enforce conformity to certain accepted and acceptable standards. It makes co-operative effort easy and natural. Self-control and discipline readily become matters of common concern. Such an attitude is an invaluable asset to the school.

Conclusion.—Summarising, it may be said that through these activities, intelligently conducted, it is possible to secure the broader social, civic, moral and avocational improvement so essential for a successful well-rounded modern life. The regular work of the school offers comparatively few opportunities for the development of desirable ideals, habits and attitudes. It is therefore necessary that attention be given to nation-building and citizen-making activities outside the curriculum. In countries and schools with well-established traditions, many desirable things can be trusted to happen naturally, but in others such things will largely have to be made to happen. Deliberate and detailed planning will have to take the place of happy blundering. Then and only then will the school have discharged its obligation to this and the succeeding generations, teaching people to practise fair play, to live co-operatively, to shoulder responsibility, to think clearly and critically, to exercise initiative and independence, to build strong bodies and active minds and to serve their God by serving their fellowmen.

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

A PEEP INTO THE MACARTNEY PAPERS IN THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, SATARA.

In the Historical Museum at Satara, Bombay Presidency, there is a collection of more than 3,000 English manuscripts which belonged to Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, from 1781 to 1785. They relate to the period of his Indian administration as well as his subsequent career. The papers which belong to the period of his stay in India deal with every important topic of his administration. Many of these documents may be found among the government records. There are however some private correspondence which, as such materials always do, possess very great value as supplementary to the official records, disclosing motives behind actions and in general giving a more vivid picture of the past. These papers are not arranged either chronologically or according to subjects. They have been so long kept unsorted and unclassified in twenty-two bundles. The Curator has now taken up the task of arranging them.

Besides these bundles there are some volumes of documents relating to Lord Macartney's administration of Madras bound in leather and in a good state of preservation. These are all official proceedings. There are also some letters from Sir John Macpherson to Lord Macartney which are kept separately under the location, English MSS. No. 22, and are of great value.

In the following pages I have attempted to convey some idea of the interesting materials that may be found in this very important collection of papers.

I. *William Dunkin on the Regulating Act of 1773.*

In Bundle I there is a document consisting of a few sheets of parchment having no heading or title on the top, but endorsed on the back of the last sheet, "Mr. Dunkin upon the Act of 1773." It is of great interest as being the opinion on a section of the Regulating Act of a man trained in law who was in India while the Act was in operation. William Dunkin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, came out to India about July, 1782,[1] to try his luck in this country. That he possessed some backing from England appears from the fact that he brought a letter of introduction from Lord Shelburne to Hastings,[2] was also the bearer of a confidential letter from Laurence Sulivan to Lord Macartney[3] and was a subject of Macartney's correspondence with the Earl of Hillsborough.[4] His first task in Bengal seems to have been, as Macartney's agent, to attempt to convince Warren Hastings that he had misinterpreted the Madras governor's attitude towards him. Dunkin was not able to make in Hastings' mind any permanently improved impression of Lord Macartney,[5] though he succeeded well in his profession[6] and was in 1784 recommended by Hastings for the post of "examiner and reporter of all appealed cases from the mofussil to the Sudder Diwani Adalat."[7] In 1786 his name appears in the public proceedings of the Bengal government as an unsuccessful applicant for the post of Advocate General during Sir John Day's absence on leave,[8] and in 1788 as attorney for Mr. H. Richardson,[9] president of the Court of Justice at Chinsura. He afterwards went to England returning to Calcutta on the 15th August, 1791, as a Knight and a Judge of the Supreme Court.[10]

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[1] *Cf.* Hastings to Macpherson, 'July 1782,' ap. Dodwell, Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson, p. 146. Macartney writes to Earl of Hillsborough (3 September, 1782) that Dunkin arrived some weeks earlier—Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 3.

[2] Dunkin to Staunton, 16th October, 1782. Idem, Bundle IV, No. 2.

[3] Laurence Sulivan to Macartney, 19th October, 1781. Idem, Bundle IX, No. 130.

[4] Macartney to Hillsborough, 3rd September, 1782. Idem, Bundle IV, No. 3.

[5] The story of Dunkin's interviews with the governor general and his efforts on behalf of Macartney is revealed by Dunkin's letters to Macartney in the Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV.

[6] Dunkin to Macartney, 11th June, 1783. Idem, Bundle IV, No. 122.

[7] Same to same, 17th February, 1784, *loc. cit.*, No. 33.

[8] Press lists of the public department records of the Government of India, Vol. XI, p. 362.

[9] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 244.

[10] Bengal Public Proceedings, 19th Aug., 1791, pp. 2845-6.

It appears that Sir William Dunkin sailed back to England early in 1799 by the "Berrington."[11]

In this document, Dunkin confines himself to the ninth section of the Act which created for the first time a central authority in British India by depriving Madras and Bombay of the power to conclude treaties or commence hostilities without the sanction of the governor general and council of Bengal. The section reads :—

> "......the said governor general and council......shall have......power of superintending and controlling the management of the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it shall not be lawful for any president and council of Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace or other treaty with any such Indian princes or powers, without the consent and approbation of the said governor general and council first had and obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties until the orders from the governor general and council might arrive ; and except in such cases where the said presidents and councils respectively shall have received special orders from the said United Company; and any president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen who shall offend in any of the cases aforesaid, shall be liable to be suspended from his or their office by the order of the said governor general and council ; and every president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen for the time being shall and they are hereby respectively directed and required to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premises from the said governor general and council for the time being; and constantly and diligently to transmit to the said governor general and council advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge relating to the government, revenues or interest of the said United Company."[12]

Literally interpreted the Act gave Bengal powers of a merely negative character.[13] Even this was further limited by the fact that in case of imminent necessity or orders from the Directors, the other presidencies could act independently of Bengal. Besides a number of loopholes were left open. What would constitute commencement of hostilities ? The subordinate presidencies, without undertaking military operations, could act in such a way as to provoke the hostility of an Indian state. The responsibility for carrying on a war in the event of its outbreak would lie on Bengal partially as the Directors had expressly made them responsible for the safety of the Company's possessions in India. Would not Bengal intervention at such a stage be open to question?[14] Again Madras and Bombay might take all the preliminary steps to a treaty and then seek the consent of Bengal for its conclusion. In such a case the Bengal Government would have no option left but to approve of it. The conduct of foreign policy was thus shared by the governor general and council with imperfectly subordinated governments who could if they iked follow a different policy altogether to the great annoyance

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[11] Imperial Record Department O.C., 8th February, 1799, No. 71.

[12] 13 Geo. III, Cap. LXIII, s. IX.

[13] According to the Madras Government the controlling power vested in Bengal by the

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Act was " only a negative restraining power." (Madras to Bengal, 15th January, 1780) ap. Dasgupta, The Central Authority in British India, p. 76.) They asserted, " ...there is nothing of a positive nature in this right. It cannot direct us to make or alter any treaty, to declare any war or to pursue any interest that we deem incompatible with the welfare of our employers. In short it has no one power of compulsion. It has only the power of a simple assent or negative upon a question necessary to be proposed by us before we can begin any negotiation for a treaty or make any order for declaring war......" (Madras to Bengal, 13th March, 1780 ; ap. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.) Hastings also was of opinion that " This Act gives us a mere negative power, and no more. It carefully guards against every expression which can imply a power to dictate what the other presidencies shall do......" (Gleig, Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, Vol. II, p. 41.)

[14] Compare the case of Bengal intervention in Madras negotiations with the Nizam in 1779 for the remission of the tribute due for the Circars. On that occasion the Madras Government argued that there was no order given by them for declaring war or for negotiating or concluding a new treaty (Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 77). They declared, "......there is nothing in the act of Parliament which restrains our endeavours to serve the Company by application to any of the country powers to do justice or to show favour to them in anything which comes under our immediate cognisance, nor are we prevented by that act from making any declarations (except that of war) which we may think necessary in support of the rights and honour of the Company, so far as they are committed to our charge. If such requests and declarations from the misconstruction of the persons to whom they may be addressed...should at any time bring on a war, there is no help for it that we know of..." (Madras to Bengal, 13 March 1780, A. P. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 86)

of the central authority. The vague wording of the Act embittered the relations of the presidencies during the ten years in which it was in operation, making it necessary to vest the governor general and council with larger powers by the Act of 1784.

It is not possible to know either the occasion on which Dunkin's opinion was sought, or the party that sought it. In the course of his arguments, Dunkin makes out the following points :—

(1) This Act being a remedial measure should not be literally interpreted.

(2) Though by a literal interpretation, the powers vested in the governor general and council are only of a negative character, yet the Act should be interpreted as giving them express powers to negotiate treaties and commence hostilities.

(3) The Act has vested powers in the governor general and council to commence hostilities and conclude treaties even with powers contiguous to the subordinate presidencies.[15]

(4) Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen had, though not expressly but by implication been made subordinate.[16]

(5) The authority of the governor general and council may be exercised at the commencement of negotiations.[17]

The following is the text of the document with marginal notes as on the manuscript :—

Where the perview of an act of Parliament shows the act is intended as remedial or in which the public good is to be provided for, such act, tho' particular and express words may be wanting is always construed to give powers necessary for the attainments of the end in view such acts are always construed in the most liberal manner. Their construction is directly opposite to that given to penal statutes where a construction strictly adherent to the very letter is alone allowed.

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[15] The Madras Governmmegt regarded itself as the regular channel of the Company's negotiations with the Nawab of Arcot.

[16] On one occasion the Madras Government had objected to its being styled a subordinate presidency.

[17] This decision is of importance, as contemporaries were not precise on the point. For example, on the occasion of the Madras negotiations with Tipu, Sir John Macpherson remarked, "...the president and select committee of Fort St. George as the representatives of the Company upon the spot must be supposed to possess powers to open a negotiation, tho' they may not conclude it finally but in cases of imminent necessity." (Macpherson's minute, Bengal Secret Consultations of the 20th March 1783.)

This rule may be in a particular manner applied.

Where regulating acts are made respecting powers formerly exercised and legally warranted tho' the new acts do not in express words annul every power formerly exercised yet they virtually annul every power inconsistent with the new regulations. Powers consistent are not annuled unless by express words.

These general principles may perhaps be found to apply in considering the powers given or taken away by the 13th Geo. 3d.

This act from its little preamble—recitals of former mischiefs, etc. etc., etc., must be considered as a regulating and remedial act.

Has not the Nabob of the Carnatic considered and declared even [in] public treaties a country power?

It has however been doubted whether the act has given power to the governor general and council to make orders for commencing hostilities negociating or concluding treaties against or with all country powers independent of the participation or approbation of the governor and Council of any other Presidency, even of that next—contiguous to such country powers or in which such power may actually reside. It should seem that the act has vested such power in the governor general and council, etc.

Including all Presidencies.

The preamble states the mischiefs experienced in the then subsisting mode of administering affairs in India.—It then provides, the remedy intended for the better management of the Company's affairs in India—

Over all India.

That there shall be a *Governor-General* and council at Fort William. The old names of the Governors and Council of the other Presidencies are preserved—This only is changed. Why? To mark even by name the superiority intended to be given in the following regulations:

To this Governor General etc. the other presidencies are not by express words made subordinate but in sense and necessary implication they undoubtedly are—

Before this act the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen exercised severally the power of commencing hostilities and of negociating and concluding treaties independent of and without communication with each other.

The mischief is too obvious to require being commented on—What is the remedy? That Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen shall not have the power to do so again without the approbation consent etc., except, etc. This remedy by express words takes from them the powers and being silent as to the powers in such cases exercised by Bengal, by every legal construction leaves Bengal in full possession of its former with the accessions of those granted by the act. If the act went no further this would be the legal construction but it goes much further—it expressly enjoins the several other Presidencies which whatever they were before, from the appointment of the Governor General, are certainly subordinate, to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premises from the Governor General.

The act then goes on in very precise as well as comprehensive words to point out and direct a line of conduct from several gradations of inferiority, dependent on the next [......] of superiority. That Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen shall constantly and diligently transmit to the Governor-General (the next above them) intelligence and advice of all transactions and matters whatever that shall come to their knowledge relating to Governments revenues or interest of the company. For what purpose? That the Governor General, etc., may in their discretion on such information give consequent orders to which by the before mentioned injunction the subordinate is bound to pay obedience. The act proceeding directs in like manner the Governor General to transmit to the Court of Directors, (the next above them) all such intelligence etc., of all matters whatever etc., etc., that the directors may, in their turn and in their discretion on such information give their orders to the Governor General etc., etc., which they are directed and required to pay due obedience to and in the last stage of this progressive remedy, the Directors are in like manner required to convey such advice, etc. etc. to their next immediate superiors, His Majesties' ministers etc., etc.

This view of the design of the act seems to prove that the act was intended as remedial, that the remedy designed was creating different but connected degrees of superintendence and control, that it has by express words taken the powers of concluding or even of commencing a treaty (for so the word negotiate should be understood) etc., etc., from the different presidencies enumerated.

That the powers of Bengal still remain, and that there are not any, express words which say that the Governor General etc., etc., shall make treaties with the country powers in, or in the vicinity of the other presidencies, yet the act in express words commands the said presidencies to obey, the orders of the Governor General touching the premises which premises are hostilities and treaties. These words must have a liberal construction such as all remedial acts ever receive, and they without the least force but by plain and necessary [illegible] must be construed to have such operations as to warrant the Governor-General etc. to negociate and conclude all Treaties whatsoever and wheresoever in India responsible to their superiors in the progression before enumerated.

By any other construction the intention of the legislature could not be carried into execution—They take away the powers exercised by one set of men but do not intend that there should be no such power in India. Where then was it intended to lodge the power ? Certainly with those to whom the persons deprived of their former power are enjoined to pay obedience in all things touching the premises that is the very powers so taken away.

That the Directors understood the act in the sense here contended for appears pretty evident from their last general orders. Doubts had been conceived and arguments relied on by the subordinate Presidencies against the extent of such power as the Governor-General etc, assumed under the act. The Directors in the most unambiguous terms command the obedience of all such presidencies to the orders of the Governor General etc.

Any arguments drawn from instructions or orders given to Madras or other presidencies previous to the passing this act, do not appear applicable to support the construction that the Governor General etc, has but a negative not an incipient or deliberating power—whatever were the intentions and consequent orders of the directors previous to the act, appeared to them to be inadequate to their great purposes of Government or the act never would have been made. They judged it necessary that power in India should change hands—They have by the act, had it placed in other hands still however to guard against inconveniences which might possibly arise from situations, they retained to the particular presidencies the former powers of acting on the two most important occasions—sudden emergency, and particular orders from themselves—when the first occurs, the presidency taking responsibility may act on the instant,—when the second occurs all responsibility is in the Directors. The presidency is only answerable for strict obedience.[18]

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[18] The following passage is a marginal note by the side of the last paragraph :

In the case I have in my eye, respecting the presidency of Madras, I am pretty clear that in consequence of the particular order of the Directors the presidency might with great propriety and in strict conformance to the expression of the act have commenced and concluded a treaty with the nabob touching the particulars mentioned in their orders without intervention of G. G. etc. and have informed G. G. They were not bound to obey the future order of G. G. touching the premises.

A stronger instance to prove the necessity of such an act, cannot be adduced than from the negociations the Presidency of Madrass had commenced at the Nizam's Court—on this occasion they insist they had a right to commence the negociations a treaty withholding the money due etc. and that the Govenor General should not with propriety or by right have had any interference untill the matter was concluded upon—Then indeed they seem to admit that under act the approbation of the Governor General was necessary.

It may indeed be matter of such delicacy, as well as of prudent policy with the Governor-General etc to select the times and occasions of assuming the exercise of this great power in the very commencement of negociation or treaty—But that is not the question here to be considered—the power is alone the question—the expediency is a very different consideration.

II. *The troublous eighteenth century.*

The eighteenth century was in more than one way a perilous time for the East India Company's settlements in India. Besides the need of maintaining themselves against Indian and European powers, the Company was hampered by internal troubles arising from defective regulations, for example the conflict of the civil and the military authorities, the claims of the king's forces and the dissensions between the presidencies. But the most dangerous and lamentable were the mutual jealousies and intrigues of the Company's officials in India arising from various conflicting personal interests and motives. Notorious instances are the dissensions in the Madras council in 1776 which led to the imprisonment of Lord Pigot, and the Hastings-Francis quarrels in the Bengal council. In such a vitiated atmosphere Britishers had to be cautious about the activities of even their fellow countrymen. Extremely interesting is the glimpse afforded by Macartney papers at Satara on the nature of the espionage maintained by Lord Macartney and Warren Hastings on the doings of fellow Europeans.

A number of people at Madras had allied their interests with the nawab of Arcot's. By lending money to the nawab they had obtained assignments on his revenues for the repayment of their debts. During the Carnatic war it was necessary that the nawab of Arcot should pay his dues to the Company and contribute towards the expenses of a war in defense of his territories. In December, 1781 the nawab had assigned to Lord Macartney in person the Carnatic revenues for this purpose. But Macartney soon found himself thwarted in his endeavours by the nawab, no doubt assisted and encouraged by a number of Europeans, themselves interested in the revenues. The nawab deputed A'zam Khan and Richard Sulivan to carry his complaints to the Bengal government against certain alleged highhanded measures of Macartney. After October, 1782, the efforts of Macartney to render the assignment effective no longer received support from Bengal where his enemies got encouragement. The situation was full of danger for his lordship. The measures adopted by Lord Pigot in connection with the restoration of Tanjore (in the revenues of which certain Europeans were interested) to its Raja had led to that unfortunate governor's arrest and imprisonment by the majority of the Madras council. For Macartney and his employers the situation was rendered more dangerous by the fact that the war against Haidar Ali was going on and General Stuart claimed in his military command powers independent of the civil authority. Under the circumstances we need not wonder that Lord Macartney took the precaution of keeping himself informed about the movements of Europeans in the settlement. We are introduced into the right atmosphere at once by a whole bundle of papers[1] in the Satara collection. They give lists of persons daily present from the 5th March to the 7th December, 1782, at the nawab Wallajah's, at Ameer-ul-omrah's,[2] at Mr. Benfield's and at General Stuart's places. Messrs. Sulivan's [Richard?] and Oakeley's[3] places are often included.

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[1] Within Bundle, VIII.

[2] Second son of the nawab of Arcot.

Not perhaps Charles Oakeley who was friendly to Macartney.

The list for the 7th December, 1782 is as follows :—

"*At the old Nabob*—

Dr. Story, Mr. Binny, Mr. Benfield.

At the Ameer-ul-omrah—

Dr. Story, Dr. Bulman, Mr. Binny, Col. Buck, Capt. Scott, Mr. Benfield, Mr. Redhead, Capt. Sulivan, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Ellis.

At Gen. Stuart—

Col. Pearse, Col. Malcolm, Capt. Scott, Capt. Smart, Capt. Gommaund, Capt. Campbell, Capt. Mackenzie, Capt. Vigor, Col. Gordon, Gen. Burgoyen, Major Davis, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Roebuck, Major Mackay, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Jackson, Dr. Bulman.

At Mr. Benfield—

Messrs. Ellis, Jones, Harker, Snow, and Col. Ross.

With the list for 20th April, 1782, there is the following note :—

> "Omerul Omrah went this morning to Mr. Benfield's garden house and returned on hearing that some horse belonging to the enemy have come near St. Thomas Tank.
>
> Mr. Benfield was with his highness this evening." [4]

The same papers reveal how Warren Hastings also realised the utility of being watchful. Hastings' hostile attitude towards Macartney had become clear by the beginning of 1783. If he could have the council with him he would have carried the suspension of the Madras governor. At this critical time Macartney had some correspondents in Bengal who kept him informed of the development of affairs at the seat of the central authority. One of these was a Captain Thomas Mercer, owner of the ship "Resolution." A slip of paper among his letters to Lord Macartney contains the following note[5] :—

> "The enclosed letter and receipt was sent to the Post Office last night and upon the refusal of Mr. Belli (to whom the matter was referred by the

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[4] Bundle VIII, No. 62.

[5] This is dated the 28th September. This was found folded with No. 56 of Bundle XXI.

> clerk) the letter was withdrawn from the office—This very little transaction has been no doubt already reported to Mercer's good friend the governor general and will tend to increase that kind of esteem in which he is held by the said governor general."

At a subsequent date we read,

> " I am not sure that all my letters by the post have reached your Lordship's hands although I have used the precaution of putting them under the cover and sending them the post office, by the servants of a man who has frequent occasion to write to Madras on the king's business."[6]

III. *Relations of Warren Hastings and Lord Macartney and the part played by John Macpherson.*

The private correspondence among the Macartney papers in the Satara Museum throw a flood of light on the relations of Warren Hastings and Lord Macartney, giving us information of the part played by Sir John Macpherson and of the attempts of William Dunkin to convince the governor general of the friendly attitude of Macartney.

Sir John Macpherson was Macartney's old friend, and if official proceedings were the only source of information we would have to say that on the whole he stood well by Lord Macartney. On his way to Bengal from England in 1781 he halted at Madras. There he co-operated with Macartney in inviting Haidar Ali and the Marathas to come to terms. About the last week of September or the first week of October he reached Calcutta. Here however he joined Hastings in supporting Coote against Lord Macartney. He was also like Hastings inclined favourably towards the nawab of Arcot whose interests he had during past years served as an agent in England. But in 1783 when Hastings was restless for the suspension of Lord Macartney, he did not for once receive Macpherson's support. Macpherson indeed disapproved of the acts of the Madras government, but pointed

[6] Mercer to Macartney, 21st December, 1783, Bundle XXI, No. 63.

out the difficulties of their situation and refused to concur in Hastings' resolutions for punishing Macartney and his select committee. This much may be gathered from the public records. He was not, however, acting from high motives and his unwillingness to oppose Macartney arose from the fact that Lord North's administration had fallen and Macartney was known to have many friends in the new administration.[1]

In his letters to Macartney in the Satara Museum, Macpherson repeatedly professed friendship for the Madras governor. Not long after reaching Bengal, in view of the growing estrangement between Hastings and Macartney, he suggested to Macartney the expediency of sending "a private minister to Hastings," adding,

> "Why not let Staunton take a trip upon Mr. H [astings]'s return in February next......But if ever you send a public minister to us, let it be Oakeley."

He promised,

> "I shall find out the quarter from which any ill or mistaken notions have originated. I must annihilate those bitternesses of belief or prejudice which men wasted and worried in party grow open to."[2]

In the next important letter we find Macpherson writing in the rebuking tone of a true friend :

> "You are, my Lord, shall I venture to say so, too much occupied about inferior affairs or too neglectful of my ideas of co-operation between the presidencies in not communicating to us, or if you would to myself your wishes about our great united arrangements for the public good...... Except in your wishes for supplies......where have you my lord suggested a general arrangement ? Where have you communicated a system of future measures......With your confidential approbation in a general quiet line of measures I wished to move—my colleague here is all I wish, and Mr. Hastings (absent) will I hope not only approve but—be bad. Upon your lordship then much depends.

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[1] Dodwell, Warren Hastings' letters to Sir John Macpherson, p. xxxi.

[2] Macpherson to Macartney, 15th November, 1781, Satara Museum English MSS, No. 22.

"...... except one short letter I have not had a syllable from you even about the affairs of your own government since my arrival at Bengal.

"I assure you sincerely I am labouring here to the very best of my ability...... to extinguish all party ideas and expectations...... to draw the attention of the service to the public necessity and distress......" [3]

In the dispute between Coote and the Madras government which arose out of Coote's desire of acting independently of the civil authority Macpherson seems to have been at first more on Macartney's side. In December, 1781, he wrote,

"We have reason to think that he [Coote] is enraged about our addressing our supplies to your lordship and your council, and not to him. We might as well assign a rice squadron to him as money uncoined—The supplies are for the government and not for his special command......"[4]

Again,

"I well know what difficulties you have to manage the old warrior. He must be humoured and of all men of all governors you are the best to soothe and support him. His arrival here would only set us a little wild upon military matters. I have expressed home in full terms your difficulties." [5]

All these while Hastings was away from Bengal.

Perhaps both on account of the need of supporting an act of Hastings who had returned to Bengal and of a genuine belief in the advisability of conciliating Coote, Macpherson agreed with Hastings in conferring extraordinary powers on the general.[6] Coote exercising his powers of independent military

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[3] Same to same, 12th December, 1781, Idem.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Same to same, 31st December, 1781, Idem.

[6] Of interest in this connection is an incomplete-letter addressed to Lord Macartney, dated Calcutta 26th May, 1782, in Bundle IX (No. 331). The last sheet is missing but indications in the letter leave no doubt that it is from John Macpherson.

"I find your lordship is not well pleased with the interference of this government on the subject of Sir Eyre Coote's remonstrances. I had a very different idea upon this subject before...I thought you would have considered it as a necessary public measure that could not affect your situation but by giving a better chance to the success of our operations by removing any further ground of dispute with the general.........He too is command in the Carnatic War reduced the Madras government to a mere commissariat department. This led the Madras government to complain to Bengal that " the ancient constitutional powers of this government subsists no more." Thereupon the Bengal government wrote to Madras on the 4th July, 1782, requesting them to take their previous order in the light of advice.[7] We have a letter from Macpherson on the situation written on the following day (5th July, claiming that he remained attached to Macartney's interests. He told Macartney

> "Till now I never imagined you wished more than to talk about the superceding effects of our letters to you and Coote upon your differences and the powers given to him. But now I see matters in another light, and that you are really hurt at our interference and the use to which it has been turned.
>
> "I foresee many and great evils from your remonstrance, nor in truth and candour can I think it warranted by facts or events.
>
> "Has Sir Eyre Coote disobeyed your government. If he has the power was in yourselves and you should have exerted it. If he has not

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displeased with his pointed and special accusations of interference in his department mentioned to his secretary and to be received from him were not taken upon our records.......

"Do not imagine, my friend, that we have taken any partial line in this business. The general left us but one alternative. We knew his temper and the devoted attachment of the army. We looked to his successors, and after all what did we do ? We advised harmony, and to leave him those powers in the conduct of the war, which every officer commanding an expedition under this government has always possessed.

"Complaints of a supposed supercession of the powers of your government must oblige us to draw the attention of the Company clearly to all we have done. There are those who wish in consequence of those supposed complaints to request both sides to consider our conciliatory advice (not commands) as if it had not issued. If that is your wish, my good friend, give me but a hint. I have laboured to support your cause which is the public cause, with all my efforts and so as to disoblige many friends,—most assiduously, ever since I have been here. I know the principles upon which your lordship acts are those of worth and good intention. I have gone further, I have unreservedly told to yourself and your deputed friend my free opinion of all your measures, (what would make my confidence and esteem more considering how few can bear, or at all like to be told such things but in words of praise)...I shall be very unhappy if any act of this government while I am a member of it can be supposed unjust or harsh towards your lordship."

[7] Dasgupta, The Central Authority in British India, pp. 193-218.

the caprice and disgusts of a worn out warrior are not sufficient to justify the spirit of your complaint.

"You are my lord I am certain aware of the danger of confessing that the constitutional powers of your government are annihilated while entrusted to your hands. The constitutional powers of your presidency no power but the Company and Parliament can annihilate if those to whom they are entrusted do their duty..........

"However my friend I wish you to believe that I remain firm and attached to your public and personal interests..........

"I am always writing your lordship harsh (?) opinions. You with your usual good humour forgive me—you touch not on points where you see me warm. Consider I am chiefly committed for your success publicly and privately." [8]

The quarrel between Coote and the Madras government continued and Macpherson wrote :

"All this cannot end well if such is to be the immediate result of our letter upon the subject of your complaints."

"But I am tired of writing in this strain and you must be offended. If I did not at this time think my writing could be of use I would not write."

Then in the postscript :

"I have written to Sir Eyre finding fault with you but telling him from my knowledge that you love him and that he must not mind the *bitterness* of some of his people. I would do anything to keep you all well for I see more perhaps than all of you the storms that are gathering round us." [9]

Regarding the obstructions received by Macartney in his efforts to realise the Carnatic revenues assigned to the Company and the consequent disputes with the nawab of Arcot, we find Macpherson offering to play the part of the mediator. On the 12th August, 1782, he wrote,

"......my labour at the present hour is to make peace between your lordship and them "[10] [the Arcot durbar].

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[8] Macpherson to Macartney, 5 July, 1782, Satara Museum English MSS., No. 22.

[9] Same to same, 17 Sept., 1782, Idem.

Do. 12 Aug., ,, Idem.

Again, a few days later,

"As your real friend it gives me pain to see a man of your temper, management and abilities so much engrossed by the little intrigues of dubashes, ameens, etc. etc.[11]......I like not your present disputes with the durbar...I have never yet directly nor indirectly replied to the nabob's and the ameer's letter to me. I think I can through Assim Chawn prepair both for an accommodation or reconciliation with your lordship. Pray write to me then whether you will agree to my ideas upon this subject. In the meantime if you sent for the ameer and the father and told them that you had letters from me requesting as an act of friendship to myself to forget where they had given you pain, and told that an arrangement was on the eve of being recommended by this government which would settle old disputes—...The event of such a discussion may be very favourable." [12]

But was Macpherson the real friend that he claimed to be ? Doubts arise in our minds as we peruse the letters from William Dunkin to Lord Macartney in the Satara collection. Dunkin's letters tell us how he started with a strong reliance on Macpherson's friendship and how he gradually discovered that Macpherson had been false to Macartney and was, at the time of Dunkin's efforts with the governor general on behalf of the Madras governor, perhaps a factor which made it difficult to reconcile Hastings to Macartney. Dunkin describes his first interview with the governor general in October, 1782, in a letter to Staunton.

"The goveror general came to town on Sunday...this morning Mr. Macpherson called upon me and carried me to him—my reception proved to me strongly that Mr. Macpherson has been assiduous in his endeavours to efface the bad impressions of my enemies—I must also hope that the letter I deliver[ed] from Lord Shelburne is no small weight in my favour —I watched his countenance whilst he was engaged in the perusal and thought the appearance not inauspicious—he instantly desired Mr. Macpherson to read it—his countenance expressed equal pleasure—the governor said, the letter I deliverd entitled me to the strongest claim upon his *civilities and attentions* (I observed he did not use the word *services*) and that he would be very happy to show them—after a quarter of an hour's conversation I left him and Mr. Macpherson together—they remained enclosed full two hours—on their coming into the room where I was, the governor, who seemed in great spirits, addressed me with assurances of his favourable dispositions towards me—that he hoped often to see me during his convalescent state, and more frequently when his health was re-established—that in the meantime he put me under the protection of Mr. Macpherson who he assured me, would have pleasure in the charge etc." [13]

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[11] Same to same, 31 Aug., 1782, fo. 6, Idem.

[12] *Ibid*, fo. 8.

In November, 1782, Dunkin reported to Macartney,

" I am looked at suspiciously by the governor...I have every reason to be pleased with Mr. Macpherson's behaviour. I really believe he would serve me if it was in his power—I beg your lordship to mention to him my conviction of his favourable disposition to me." [14]

The next letter in this collection brings us to April, 1783. Dunkin now suspected that Hastings' prejudice against him was due to Macpherson, secured a private audience with the governor general and having impressed him was again asked to visit him frequently. He availed him of this permission, and on one occasion discovered that inspite of being expressly commissioned by the Madras governor, Macpherson had done nothing to remove from Hastings' mind the suspicion that Macartney had intrigued to supplant him in Bengal. It is extremely interesting to hear Dunkin speak for himself.

" The prejudices infused into Mr. Hastings against me, kept me as I concluded at an inaccessible distance from him—but contrary to every hope I have gained an approach—I gave over the scheme I had foolishly adopted of trusting to the friendly interposition of Mr. Macpherson ; and by the advice of Mr. Stephen Sulivan, who earnestly desired I might have an explanation with Mr. Hastings, which he suspected Mr. Macpherson prevented, I requested a private audience—I at length succeeded. I was much agitated and affected—I saw I affected him—I told him truths, with a warmth and firmness which truth only could support—and in half an hour gained a place in his confidence which I had long despaired of—He fully acknowledged his suspicions of me—that he had been taught to consider me as your and Mr. Burke's devoted friend for purposes inimical to him (the aim of your declared enemies, and pretended friends, I have in many instances marked to be directed to have your interest and Mr. Burke's considered as united, for the purpose of detaching Mr. Sulivan's and Mr. Hastings' friends from you)—that accounts he had recd. agt. me had made an impression on his mind.—He did not directly say he had these accts. from Mr. Macpherson, but he gave me cause sufft. to conclude it was from him alone—and that he was the conduit made use of by the Ameer and Benfield—on his honor he assured me that neither Assim Cawn or Richd. Sulivan had ever mentioned my name to him—Good God 'the man on whom I relied to remove the effects of the malevolent insinuations of my enemies—who solemnly assured me he had used and was continuing to use his best endeavours to that end—and that he should be the very man who communicated those slanders'—I do not say that Mr. Hs. told me so—but he gave me full reason to believe so, and he positively assured me that Mr. Mac. never once attempted to undeceive him—Before I quitted him he gave me the most unequivocal assurances that I had entirely undeceived him—that he felt satisfaction at the [illegible] and hoped that from that time I would come to him frequently and freely—Now my dear Lord, before you go farther I beg you to get from Mr. Staunton, if he thought it with his keeping, my letter to him describing my first conversation with Mr. Macpherson, and compare what there passed between us with what I have now written and shall write—this happened about three weeks ago—I availed myself of Mr. H.'s permission—I visited him frequently and soon perceived a familiarity growing from him—finding him one evening disengaged and in good humor, old Mr. Sulivan's relation was one subject—I recollected I had in my pocket the little paper of memorandums, you may remember I showd you of a conversation I had with Mr. James Macpherson shortly before I left London, with some marginal remarks of old Mr. Sulivan I had several motives for producing this paper in its original address it showd my confidence in Mr. Hastings (Mr. Sulivan's confidence in me)—Mr. Sulivan's observations on the attachment and friendships of the Macphersons—and, what I was most desirous of proving—Mr. Sulivans very anxcious solicitude for a confidence and mutuality of interest between your Lordship and Mr. Hastings—and I hoped this might lead to the subject of your differences which as I stood I dared not to introduce—I was not disappointed—he read the paper with avidity—and immediately began to interrogate me as to its meaning "What did Mr. Sulivan mean by desiring you to tell Lord Mecartney and me that now we might be sure of the interest of the Macpherson"? Mr. S. believed they were sincere in their intentions in supporting your, Lord Ms., and Mr. S's joynt interests, but that they were sincere only from conviction that they could not carry their own points witht. you etc. etc.—"But [—] has joyn Lord Ms. interest with mine?—the man engaged with my enemies to procure my recal and get into my seat and who disclaimed all such views."—Has not Mr. Macpherson been able to satisfy you on this head? Has he not explained how the matter originated and has he not done justice to L. Ms. honor against the possible suspicion of concealment or duplicity on his part?—With strong marks of surprize he repeated—Mr. Macpherson—never—"I heard indeed from *him* and others of his Lordship's views."—My good Sir did he not communicate to you the subject of a letter he recd. from Ld. M. soon after my arrival at Madras?—never—I was really astonished—he appeared in anxious expectation and begd me to proceed—I took-up the subject from the period when different men of consequence, I mentioned the Marquiss of Graham and Ld. Lewisham began to discover their views to succeed him—that Mr. Sulivan and others of his sincere friends concluded that the best way to disappoint such pretensions woud be to secure the eventual succession, when either his own choice or the accidents of nature or fortune might occasion a vacancy, for a man who shoud owe his appointment to their joynt interests—from which an attachment to him and his friends might be fairly expected—that Mr. S. looked to Ld. M. not only as a man whose personal connexions must greatly contribute to the success of the scheme, what also as a man in whose honor and gratitude they all might safely confide—that he had tried the ground for and found it not impracticable—his great object there was to attach Lord M. and Mr. Hastings to each other—to embark them on one bottom—he dreaded lest jealoucies of each might be infused into the other—that he had desired me to explain his wishes to L. M. and hoped L. M. woud by me inform to Mr. H. his entire attention to them—that his Mr. S's designs had their origin in his attachment to Mr. H.—that he never entertained—that L. M. never entertained the idea of supplanting him—that my information to L. M. was the first he had on the subject that he must recollect about that time the direct communication between him and L. M. was unhappily interrupted and that L. M. had some time before assured him he had no such views—that therefore and to prevent being subjected to the possible imputation of a disingenuous conduct—of concealed intentions, L. M.

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[13] Dunkin to Staunton, 16 Oct., 1782 Satara Museum, Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 2.

[14] Dunkin to Macartney, 9 Nov., 1782, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 163.

instantly wrote to his friend Mr. Macpherson and requested him to take the very first occasion to represent truth to Mr. H.—that on my arrival Mr. M. assured me he *had* done this—but that his communication to you (Mr. H.) had not the effect he wished or L. M. had intended—I saw or thought I saw a great deal of what was passing in Mr. H's mind—I went on to insist, with a warmth well warranted on my conviction that you, L. M. were sincere in your wishes to co-operate with him and manifest your confidence and friendship—this however appeared to be beyond his then faith."[15]

After a few days Hastings sent for Dunkin and told him that he was ready to believe his assurances of Macartney's amicable disposition if they could be reconciled with Macartney's having sent to the Directors, long before any act of the Bengal Government which could give offence, his letters respecting his opinion of the conduct proper to be pursued towards Tanjore and the Northern Circars.[16] Hastings then wrote to Macartney for an explanation on this point.[17] Macartney's reply dated 10th May was shown by the governor general to Dunkin in a long private audience on the 11th June, 1783.[18] Regarding the effect produced by this letter on Hastings, Dunkin reported to Macartney,

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[15] Dunkin to Macartney, 12 April, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 235.

This letter is unfortunately incomplete. It is important as throwing light on the circumstances in which Macartney was put forward by his friends as a candidate for the post of governor general. A letter in bundle IX from Lawrence Sulivan to Macartney, dated 19th October, 1781, corroborates Dunkin. Sulivan wrote " When it [Parliament] meets the Secret Committee will resume their enquiry, and some new regulations may take place. That of nominating a successor to the governor general and to the commander-in-chief to fill any eventual vacancy will certainly be adopted. Though I have good reasons to believe there is no intention at present to remove Mr. Hastings, several persons of high connexions have been confidentially mentioned to me as candidates for this nomination and I have been pressed to consider of a proper man. Motives of public good as well as private attachment, prompted me to propose your lordship whenever my opinion has been asked. And as it appeared likely that great exertions would be made to obtain such an high and important situation, I took further steps to secure your lordship's success by imparting my wishes to Lady Macartney and apprizing her of what was in contemplation...Mr. Dunkin who carries this despatch will also inform your lordship of the state this business is in, and of the mode in which it was set on foot....

" I must always express my hopes that a perfect harmony will subsist between my friend Governor Hastings, and your lordship, because I am convinced that our affairs in India would derive great advantages from such an union."

Lord Macartney more than once declared that the governor generalship was not an object with him and that he had never solicited it himself. Cf. Macartney to Directors, undated, Idem, Bundle III. " Your Hon'ble court...well knows that I never have solicited or applied for it in any address to you...and I do solemnly assure you that I never solicited or applied for it thro' any other channel, whether private friends or public ministers." (p. 48).

> " He assured me in the most explicit manner that independent of the proofs which you had been at the trouble of collecting and offering, which he declared to be fully satisfactory, the readines and anxiety which you had manifested to give him satisfaction—had completely answered to his wishes and given him much gratification,—that he had so expressed himself in his answer to you...In your letter to Mr. Hastings you promise to impart whatever you had written to the Directors on the subject of Tanjore—there was nothing enclosed on that subject or imparted in your letter except your very conclusive reasonings agt. his suspicions—This was not unobserved by him but he desired me to take no notice to you of what he conceived to be owing to accidental omission,—that independent of that you had given him entire satisfaction, etc. etc."

At the same time we hear from Dunkin that

> " the idea of proceeding to extremities is not entirely relinquished."

In the interview Dunkin showed to Hastings Macartney's letter to Macpherson of the 29th July, 1782,

> " Your letter of the 29th July, contains three subjects—you begin with... the impropriety of the powers given to Sir Eyre—Mr. Hastings was sore on this subject—This part of your letter Mr. Hastings well remembers that Mr. M. read to him—This coud but irritate the sore—The second head was your acct. of the communications I had conveyed to you and your request that he should explain it Mr. Hastings to preserve your honr. from the possible imputation of concealment or disguise—of this not one sentence was communicated to Mr. Hastings but he well remembered that M. then informed him he had it from you that your friends, not one word of his or any other friends had thoughts of your

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[16] Dunkin to Macartney, 15 April, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 28.

[17] *Loc. cit.*

[18] Dunkin to Macartney, 11 June, 1783, Idem, Bundle IV, No. 122.

being removed to Bengal—The 3rd part of your letter was respecting the [illegible] of Sir Edwd. Hughes—Mr. Hastings is not certain whether he read that part or not—I am certain he did and it is not a good natured motive that convinces me.—"

" I'o that part of your letter to Macpherson which mentions in very strong terms your sense of Mr. H.'s not having answered your letter he gave this as an anwer—That nothing wou'd have pleas'd him more than free communication with you by letters—but that your letters were all too well, that is too guardedly written—that had you written to him with that unreserved freedom you did to M. your correspondence would have been highly grateful to him, but that your letters expressed to be familiar ones, were to him only exceedingly forcible and well dressed arguments always against himself...."

Dunkin felt that he now knew enough to sum up Macpherson's aims and ambitions.

"God forgive me if I injure the man—He had two great objects—The governing the Durbar one—in this Benfield was his instrument, tho' he thinks himself a principal and has his own by-game to play—the other the succession to Mr. Hastings—you like his evil genius cross him at every turn—he is therefore your secret enemy—but he must seem your friend—to engage the support of your friends when they can no longer with effect support you—and by making Mr. Hastings hostile to you, he secures the powerful aid of Mr. Hastings' friends to frustrate your views in the first instance and in the long run to support his own, as he suspects the time may come when Mr. Hastings cannot stand—I beg you now to turn your eye to that part of my letter to Mr. Staunton where I describe his pathetic disclaimer of this Government—compare that with his never once having attempted to do you justice with Mr. Hastgs. with his declaring to me he had labourd it witht. effect—with Mr. Hastings telling me he had heard from him of your views to succeed him but never one little of explanation—and lett me conclude, what I woud now have you take into your view, with an anecdote I had the day before yesterday from Sir Elijah Impey. I shoud premisse that there is the most confidential communications between the Govr. and him—he immediately made him acquainted with the, as he called them, astonishing discoveries he had made from me—I have been since frequently in private with Sir Elijah—He asked me if I woud nearly ascertain the time when your letter must have reached Mr. Macphersons hands in which you had explained to him the information I had given you of the intentions of your friends to advance you to this Government—I coud pretty nearly—about that time he [Macpherson] took occasion to mention to Sir Elijah a very curious letter he had just received from you—He tells me here, sayd he, pulling out, but not reading a letter,—*that our common friends had thoughts of his succeeding to this Government*,—Does the Baron think me a fool? pretty friends they must be of mine who wou'd try to put another in my place "—at this time he was labouring to impress the Chief Just. with the idea of his consequence, and to hold himself out as the eventual successor."

It is interesting to find in this letter Sir Elijah Impey's attitude in this matter. We hear:

> " The Chief Just. repeatedly and passionately wished you had given him the honr. of your confidence—assured me that from what he now knows of you if he had known it in time there never could have arisen a disagreemt......lamented the consequences of the manner your confidence has been abused—and imputes everything to the duplicity of the man you trusted—He it was who has infused the jealoucies he complained of existing—and he was the man you trusted to remove them."

At the next interview Hastings asked Dunkin to tell him the real reason for Macartney's hostility towards him, since he had started with the best disposition towards his lordship, and since a respect for his character which he had early formed had been increased by the handsome things conveyed to him of Macarteny by Mr. Pechell and Mr. Sulivan.

> " I as solemnly assured him that I never discovered in you but the most sincere desire of creating and increasing confidence and friendship—and that to promote this end whenever any difference of opinion might arise on a public matter, which you thought it necessary to declare you generally,—I coud assert frequently, I believed always,—accompanied your public letter with a private one to Mr. Macpherson to whose friendly dispositions and conciliating good qualities you trusted to preserve private friendship—and regard between you—He shook his head repeatedly—I added that I had seen one or two of such your letters—and that such was my recollections of the manner you expressd your sentiments, that I now verily believed if Mr. Mac. had only read your letter to him, even without a friendly comment, they would have fully answerd your purpose and

> prevent the fatal interruption which had taken place in your correspondence—" But I never saw those letters—why did he not write to me directly "—
>
> " We had much of this sort of conversation—he did acknowledge that you might sometimes have had apparent causes of dissatisfaction—but insisted they must have arisen long subsequent to what he considered as the strongest mark of your early intended hostilities to him—I am almost certain that now there does not remain on his mind a resentment against you but from this single cause—it has made a deep impression."

Inspite of these apparently successful interviews, Dunkin failed in his efforts to alter the situation by eradicating from Hastings' mind his suspicions of Macartney. Dunkin's consciousness of failure was clear when he wrote in July 1783.[19]

> " However amicable the professions held out in the letter you received on the 27th June may be you may be assured that at the time of writing the letter, and ever since, the most hostile measures are by every mode of address attempted."

From the official records we find that April, May and June of 1783 corresponding to the period of Dunkin's comparative success was a time of lull in the conflict between the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. But on the 7th July 1783 the Bengal board had before it the Madras letter of the 25th May, 1783, refusing to obey their second order to restore the Carnatic revenues to the nawab of Arcot. Hastings was furious and became impatient to punish the Madras Government for disobedience. In the proceedings of the 21st July 1783 the governor general recorded a lengthy minute on the subject, covering no less than 33 pages of the consultations. He asserted that there was no use showing "tenderness and forbearance" to the Madras Government, but did not suggest the punishment that should be meted out to them.[20] It was of this situation that Dunkin wrote on the next day—the 22nd July 1783.[21]

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[19] Dunkin to Macartney, 22nd July 1783, Idem, Bundle IV, No. 111.

[20] Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-4.

[21] Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 111.

" Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables remain inflexible, and will not be frightened or cajolld into the measure of Mr. Hastings...atlength a long minute has come forth written by Mr. Hastings...he has not proposed anything in particular as the punishmt of your delinquency—but expects that the other members of Counl. will propose what he has pointed at as your proper punishment—This paper is to go in circulation-"

Dunkin fully utilised the interval to ensure the support of Wheler and Stables for Macartney. We let Dunkin speak.

" I have had many conversations with Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables on the subject—they did me the honor to desire I woud commit my thoughts to writing—I have had the good fortune to please them—It is possible they may think some things I have written may be introduced into their minutes in answer to Governr.—I coud but guess at his—but I took as good random aim as I coud at what I suspected it might be—Mr. Macpherson is not able to attend Counl. He is ill upon the water somewhere abt Garretty............" Mr. Hastings says that your last long public letter is a libell on the Governmt and contains, tho not in direct words, by the plainest implication, a charge agt M. Wheler and him of being bribed by the nawab of Arcot I attempted to reason with him agt the probability of your ever intending to insinuate such a thing—that if your words coud bear another explanation I was certain you must have meant them in this other—no—he sayd—it was too plain—I concluded with saying that I coud not presume to reason from the words of a letter I never had read—but that I thought it not at all like your lordship, if you really intention'd such an opinion that you woud take such a mode of bringing forward the charge—I went immediately to Mr. Wheler, but Mr. H. shoud by infusing such an idea irritate him agt you and thereby make him more easy from such resentment for the imputation of being bribed to joyn in measures hostile to you—I had very little trouble on this head—Mr. Wheler assured me that he did not understand your letter in the sense Mr. Hastings did and that he very well saw into Mr. H's motive—I dont know wher. you woud think it right to address a letter to Mr. Wheler on this subject—if yes—say you had this acct. from me—I hope you will never again have occasion to write a private letter to Mr. Hastings—he is the most dangerous of men.

" To get over Mr. Macpherson to him on some trying questions now before Counl. he affects to recollect that he believes Mr. Macpherson did speak to him on the subject of your Lordships letter of July 1782, and that he is sorry he forgot it—He is not yet to me ventured to acknowledge his want of memory—my proof agt him are too damning—to be sure I have damned myself with him by having been too correct he affects however particular attention to me—& I go after to his house—His first accts. to Mr. E. Impey and Stephen Sulivan of the effects of the discovery I had made, he can never get over—but above all—his allowing me to write the full detail to old Mr. Sulivan."

How the situation developed two days later is described in the first of some notes found in this collection whose writer and addressee we are left to conjecture.[22]

"The ferment is still as violent as when I wrote you last, and the—[23] is still determined on repeating the positive orders for renouncing the assignment if he can by any means get anybody to second him, wch. now seems doubtful he made a direct and violent attack on Mr. S.[24] to support him alledging that by his supporting the measure hitherto, he was now so far committed, he could not recede...Mr. S. swore by—he never would and that he was sincerely sorry he never had anything to do with it, but that since now his Mr. S. eyes were open to his actions, it would be unpardonable.

"The above gave occasion to the public to expect a duel and even [illegible] a meeting was appointed, but what prevented it or further, is not said;

"The Thane[25] is nearly very ill and on the water this fortnight—but if it had not been really so; it is supposed he would [illegible] himself not fit for duty at this period, as he finds the—so determined on this matter that he would invoke heaven and earth to enforce Mr. S. support and afraid absolutely to act in direct contradiction, being too much at his mercy; his native prudence is his only refuge."

"The—accuses Thane with not communicating to him Ld. M.'s private letters entire and only those parts least likely to reconcile—report adds that he went over the water to reproach him personally for it."[26]

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[22] These are not in the form of letters, but are notes. They are partly in cipher, accompanied however by the explanations. Most of them bear the endorsement "J. Staunton" with the date of receipt at Madras. They were in all probability written to Macartney.

[23] The '—' stands for 'governor general.'

[24] Stables.

[25] John Macpherson.

[26] No. 23, dated 24th July, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 273.

In a subsequent note we read,

> " Mr. S. in conversation with me, set him down as absolutely mad;—but on reflection argeed that ' the—being near his political death, wanted to commit some act of violence, to exceed all he has done before, and involve with him the other three—and to come on his defence in England, in good company and ensure the support of all their friends '—He exclaimed ' By—he shall have no support from any of mine, I'll take care of him.' "[27]

So Hastings failed to induce the council to suspend the president and Select Committee of Madras. On the 31st July, 1783, he again brought in a minute in which he urged the council to decide speedily, crying out that " in a case of this nature any decision is preferable to suspense." The Supreme Council therefore decided to repeat the order to restore the assignment.[28] Upon this Dunkin, not a little disappointed, wrote to Macartney :[29]

> " Mr. Shore...is much mortified at the want of firmness in his friend Wheler on his agreeing to the late resolution to repeat the orders of your Presidency which he must be convinc'd you will to his [illegible] refuse your compliance with, and which he and most of the thinking men here are convinc'd you never should comply with—He has repeated to me the assureances which Mr. Wheler in person gave me that this is the last step he, W. will take in this business—But what can I be sure of when he so repeatedly assured me he would agree to no sort of censure—I consider the repetition of the order as a censure, he wishes it not to be so understood—Mr. Shore has strongly advised, and I know his advice has great weight, that on any future attempt at censure for your expected repeated disobedience he, W. shall deny his assent and propose referring the whole matter to the Court of Directors—This I believe is the principal part of Mr. Stables' minute on the late decision—He told that was a part he would select from the reasons I gave him—I believe he is a firm honest but not a very clear or a very well informed man—his manners have not the most finished polish—The Govt. and he are at open war as to our friend Mr. Macpherson, I am nearly convinced there is no man the

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[27] No. 25, 6th August, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 272.

[28] Beng. Sec. Cons. of 31st July, 1783, and 15th August, 1783.

[29] Dunkin to Macartney, 3rd September, 1783, Satara Museum, Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 39.

Government has a more extreme contempt for—But he has use for every sort of tool and he knows the use of most—at present the idea of Fingals (?) power with Mr. Robinson [30]—and so to Lord North—gives him a temporary consequence—tho' I believe few subjects of contest can arise in which he will act with the Governr unless they are in favour of the old Nabob, or against your Lordship."

However the Madras government for the second time refused to restore the Carnatic revenues to the nawab. Hastings again proposed the suspension of the Madras government, but again failed to carry the council with him.[31] We learn from the Satara manuscripts that

> "On Monday last Hastings came to the Board with a determined resolution to destroy the whole Madras board, not Lord Macartney alone—he called upon Macpherson to assist him, who did not positively say no, but harangued for an hour and concluded saying it would be better to delay a little longer untill they should hear from England—With no little vexation of spirit he then asked Stables who directly and bluntly said 'No—if they have done wrong let them answer to the Court of Directors... '" [32]

Though the danger was over it was a time of anxiety for Macartney's friends. As has been noticed in Dunkin's letter to Macartney they were a little nervous on the score of Wheler. The same nervousness appears in one of these anonymous notes :

> "Moore and Dunkin think there is no danger of his [Wheler's] joining Hastings, but his conduct as you have seen by the minutes sent you in direct opposition to his promise to Dunkin, leave great room to fear." [33]

This anxiety was however set at rest by Wheler's assurances that

> "Notwithstanding he joined in enforcing by order he pledged himself he would not in punishment."[34]

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[30] John Robinson, the Secretary to the Treasury was entrusted by Lord North with the superintendence of Indian affairs.

[31] Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-6.

[32] Cipher notes, No. 34, dated 16th October, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX.

[33] Same, No. 35, undated, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 274.

[34] Same, No. 38, 14th November, 1783, Idem, Bundle XXI, No. 144.

In December, 1783, the dispute over the question of the Carnatic revenues was set at rest by the Bengal Council informing Madras that they had determined to suspend the further consideration of the subject until the decision of the Directors arrived.[35]

A. P. DASGUPTA

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[35] Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

ALL THINGS NEW

I met a mystic in a wood :
It was not wood I saw, but God.

FREDERICKA BTANKNER

MIR QASIM'S ACCESSION TO THE MASNAD OF MURSHIDABAD

Mir Qasim ascended[1] the Masnad on October 20, 1760, the tenth of the Rabi-ul-Awal in the year of the Hijrah 1174, amidst great pomp and eclat, and took great pains to impress on the wondering populace of Murshidabad that the deposition of the old Nawab was right and just. His accession was proclaimed all over the city, and people eagerly flocked to the gates of the palace to have a view of the joyous festivities that were going on inside. No efforts were spared to make the day memorable in the chequered history of Murshidabad. Friends and admirers, nobles and merchants, officials and Zemindars, in fact, persons of any importance in the city crowded upon the new Nawab with their presents to offer their respects, and felicitations. Mr. Vansittart offered his congratulations on behalf of the Company, and retired to Moradbagh leaving Major Yorke and a detatchment of troops for the security of the Nawab.[2] This precaution was needless, as there occurred not the slightest disturbance in the city,[3] and the day passed in merry-making, and the illuminations at night were as brilliant as on the previous day which had been the last day of the greatest festival in Bengal, the Durga Puja.

All the oriental grandeur and brilliance could hardly have concealed from the intelligentsia in Bengal the glaring treachery and cupidity of the new Nawab, and people were soon to have a bitter experience of the new regime, and its heartless oppression.[1] So far as Mir Qasim was concerned, he laboured under no delusions, and was hardly dazzled by the splendid ovations he had received. He knew very well the extremely arduous nature of the responsibilities and powers so long coveted, and now secured, by him.

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[1] Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 143.
The Seir, II, p. 385.
The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 735).
The Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 304).
The Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 349).

[2] Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Select Committee, Nov. 3, 1760.

[3] Vansittart, I, p. 122.

The Nawab's chief care after his accession was to regulate[2] the finances. He found to his utter amazement the treasury practically exhausted by the late Nawab, and there was not even one lakh in ready cash,[3] and not more than a few lakhs in gold and silver plate. Such a state of affairs would have benumbed the most optimistic of hearts, but Mir Qasim was not the man to be disheartened. He needed money to pay his forces, and those of the Company; and if he failed to secure it from the treasury, he could at any rate force those people to pay who could afford to do so. Cynical as it may appear, the Nawab had recourse to this policy systematically, and ruthlessly. There was no other way open to a man who had cheerfully undertaken to repay the arrears that had been accumulating since the commencement of the last regime, and to satisfy the demands of the Company.

The Nawab started with the convenient assumption that the old administration had been thoroughly corrupt. All responsible officers of the preceding government were ordered to submit accounts, so that they might be compelled to disgorge what they had embezzled with impunity. He appointed reliable men to audit the accounts. Among others, Ali Ibrahim Khan, his most intimate friend, was to look after the military accounts. He was to be assisted by Sita Ram[4] whom Ghulam Hussain describes as a man of a bad character though a complete master of all the intricacies of revenue accounts.[1] The inevitable consequence of such a policy was that innumerable embezzlements were reported by the zealous auditors and supervisors. The persons reported against were doomed, and helpless against the Nawab's wrath. Every one was taken to task, and no consideration was shown to anybody. The punishment for alleged misappropriation was cruel. Wholesale confiscations of property were made, and many nobles and wealthy people became virtual paupers. A Zemindar had escaped to Calcutta with all his moveable property, and Mir Qasim wrote to the governor requesting him to send him back.[2] On the pretence of securing damages for the losses due to embezzlement of government funds, the Nawab ruined a number of families.[3] The greed of the Nawab knew no bounds. He did not hesitate to punish the relatives and dependants of Ali Verdi Khan,[4] nor did he spare even the ladies of the palace, and the women of the town.[5] They had to restore to the government their hoarded wealth, and even ornaments, because the loyal spies had found fault with them. There was hardly a rich man left in the country who wholly escaped the notice of the informers appointed by the Nawab. Their wealth was regarded a sufficient proof of their guilt. Thus, in the course of a short time, the Nawab amassed, by organised cruelty and terror, in cash and jewellery a vast treasure which he utilised in paying his own troops, and those of the Company. Mr. Vansittart, it appears, was not told how exactly money was being procured from the alleged defaulters. He was given to understand[6] that only the principal officers and Mutasaddis of the late administration were being compelled

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[1] Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 304.

[2] Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal, p. 8.

[3] The Seir, II, p. 390. Vansittart's Letter to the Select Committee, Oct. 24, 1760.

[4] The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 771).

The Seir, II, p. 389.

[2] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.

[3] Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 305-6.

[4] The Khulasat. J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 352.

[5] The Seir, II, p. 392.

[6] Vansittart, I, pp. 137-9.

to give up what they had misappropriated. The governor, unaware of the terrorism going on, wrote to the Select Committee, "the Nawab applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the affection of the people."[1]

The Nawab next turned his attention to other means of raising funds without which the ordinary work of government could not be carried on. He borrowed a large sum from the Seths with the help of Mr. Vansittart.[2] Having thus secured sufficient resources to meet at least partially the demands of the troops, and other creditors, Mir Qasim embarked on a policy of an all-round retrenchment. He banished all scruples from his mind, and cut down all expenditure in so drastic a manner that he extorted the admiration of the governor.[3] He commenced with a severe retrenchment of his personal expenses, and this showed his earnestness in a way that could not be mistaken. It was a unique thing in that age indeed for a Nawab to curtail expenditure on the various ceremonials, and luxuries of the palace.[4] Mir Qasim was, however, bent upon making his government solvent, and so he shrank from no economies howsoever undignified or petty they might be. For instance, the menagerie department of the palace was abolished,[5] and the animals were actually sold to Zemindars. The Nawab did not hesitate even to appropriate to himself the gold and silver decorations of the royal[6] Imambara amounting to several lakhs in value, and stopped[7] all the expenses incurred in connection with 'Tazias' even though he was a Shiya. Not content with these savings, he had the meanness to suggest a reduction in the allowances of Mir Jafar whose voluntary abdication alone had brought him on the *masnad.* Mr. Vansittart had requested him to grant Rs. 25,000 monthly [1] for the expenses of the ex-Nawab, but Mir Qasim wrote in reply that a sum of Rs. 2,000 per month would be sufficient! [2] Pressed by the governor, he agreed to raise the sum to Rs. 10,000,[3] but absolutely refused to make it Rs. 15,000 inspite of all representation.[4]

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[1] Vansittart's Letter to the Select Committee, Oct. 24, 1760.
[2] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.
[3] Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 11.
[4] The Khulasat, J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 351.
[5] The Seir, II, p. 391.
[6] The Riyaz us Salatin, p. 385.
[7] The Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 305.

Mir Qasim soon found himself in a position to send remittances for the payment of the troops.[5] The arrears, however, could not be paid all at a time, but the Nawab sent instalments [6] regularly as he did not like to commit the mistake of his predecessor. When Mr. Vansittart complained [7] that the amount due to the Company was not being paid quickly, Mir Qasim decided to sell [8] a quantity of precious jewels which he had lately confiscated from various people, and handed them over to Mr. Batson, chief of the Kasimbazar factory.[9] They were sent to Calcutta, and sold [10] at auction. Thus, before long, the Nawab paid up the arrears due to the Company, and paid a substantial donation of five lakhs to help the Company in their war with the French.[11] Above all, he did not forget his obligation to the members of the Select Committee, and subsequently paid them too the promised presents.[1] Besides paying the dues of the Company, the Nawab fulfilled his agreement with the Company.[2]

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[1] Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 7.
[2] ,, P. L. R., ,, ,, p. 3.
[3] ,, ,, ,, ,, p. 11.
[4] Trans. P. L. I., 1762, No. 9, p. 6.
[5] The Seir, II, p. 391.
The Khulasat, pp. 351-2.
[6] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 3.
,, ,, ,, ,, p. 4.
Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 83, p. 1.
[7] Vans., Narrative, I, p. 140.
Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 9.
[8] ,, P. L. R., ,, ,, p. 3.
The Seir, II, p. 39.
[9] Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 11.
[10] Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 168, p. 56.
[11] Vans., Narrative, I, p. 123.

Thus—

(*i*) He gave the Company 'parwanahs' for the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong.[3]

(*ii*) The balance of ten lakhs payable to the Company's troops was paid.[4]

(*iii*) He granted a 'parwanah' for half[5] of the Chunam production at Sylhet.

(*iv*) The shroffs and merchants were forbidden to charge any discount on the Calcutta 'siccas,' and the Nawab allowed the latter to bear the Murshidabad stamp.[6] A notification was issued to the effect that any person who demanded 'batta' on the Calcutta 'siccas' was to be sent to the Nawab, and punishment would be meted out to him.[7]

Mir Qasim did not evince either caution, or wisdom, in the first appointments made by him. His choice fell mostly on unworthy favourites whose sole aim was to make the most of the opportunities that they now obtained for making money. The Nawab probably meant to gather round him a group of persons whose interests would be bound up with those of his regime. He favoured several of his relations with sonorous titles, and appointments, although they hardly deserved any.[8] Some of his friends were appointed as comptrollers, and supervisors in the several offices, and the sole reason of their elevation was the Nawab's deep-rooted distrust of the former officials. He even went to the length of inviting old and retired Mutasaddis of Aliverdi Khan's time [1] to accept office once again in the treasury so that they might be used as a check on the officers of Mir Jafar. One of the avowed objects of Mr. Vansittart in bringing about a reformation of the late Nawab's government had been to remove [2] the principal evil counsellors of Mir Jafar such as Kanna Ram, Munni Lal, and Chunilal, but Mir Qasim did not like either to dismiss or punish them before utilising their services in detecting the late embezzlements. With his usual cunning and diplomacy, he conferred on them honours and appointments. Mr. Vansittart was not aware of the underlying motives of the Nawab, and so he naturally protested against this.[3] The Nawab replied with characteristic tact that it would be imprudent to dismiss them immediately.[4] It is needless to mention that, not long afterwards they were arrested, and their property was confiscated.[5] They were subsequently executed.[6]

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[1] First Report, 1772, p. 164.
Third Report, 1773, p. 311.
The total sum paid as presents amounted to a little more than £200,000.

[2] Vansittart, I, p. 101, Narrative.

[3] Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Select Committee, Nov. 3, 1760.

[4] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 40.

[5] Vans., Narrative, I, p. 122.

[6] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 4.
,, P. L. I., ,, p. 9.

[7] ,, P. L. R., ,, p. 3.

[8] A detailed account is given by Ghulam Hussain, The Seir, II, pp. 387-90.

The following is a list of the principal officials appointed by the Nawab immediately after his accession : —

1. Ali Ibrahimkhan,[7] Chief auditor of military accounts ;
2. Sita Ram,[8] Chief auditor of civil accounts.
3. Gurgeen Khan,[9] Darogha of artillery.

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[1] The Khulasat, p. 350.

[2] Vans., Narrative, I, p. 119.

[3] Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 10.

[4] ,, P. L. R., ,, p. 4.

[5] The Seir, II, p. 391.

[6] The Muzzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 304.

[7] He was the most faithful friend of Mir Qasim. Ghulam Hossain has given a high opinion in regard to his ability and merit : "...who, to all his innate delicacy in matters of honour and fidelity, joins the incomparable talent of unravelling the most hidden mysteries of administration, and of discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts......(The Seir, II, p. 388).

[8] " ...a man of a bad character, and who was universally known for a mischievous wicked minister...(The Seir, II, p. 389).

[9] He was brother to Khwaja Petruse who had acted as an intermediary between the Nawab and the Select Committee. The author of the Seir is extremely prejudiced against

4. Shah Masnad Ali,[1] Paymaster of the forces.
5. Mahammad Zahir Hussain Khan,[2] Paymaster of the forces.
6. Mahammad Naqi Khan Tabrezi,[3] Faujdar of Birbhum.
7. Syed Turab Ali Khan,[4] Naib of Murshidabad.
8. Mirza Shamsuddin,[5] Confidential Agent of Patna.

Once secure on the *masnad*, Mir Qasim turned his attention to the task of bringing rebellious Zemindars under control. This was the most pressing problem after the re-organization of finances. Since the time of Mir Jafar, some of the Zemindars of Bihar and Bengal had been disaffected towards the Nawab, and had joined the Shahzadah.[6] Their attitude became a source of alarm and danger, as revenues were withheld by them.[7] All this had been due to the weakness of Mir Jafar's government, but Mir Qasim determined to control the dangerous power of such Zemindars, and establish his own authority over the whole province. Among the Zemindars, the Raja of Birbhum was the most dangerous. He was the most powerful landholder, and his estate was close to Murshidabad. The Raja had been a source of perpetual alarm to Mir Jafar;[8] because he had threatened to attack the capital more than once. On the

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him (II, p. 389). His hatred may have been due to racial and religious animosity. Gurgeen Khan had been a merchant at Hooghly, and subsequently became a favourite of the Nawab, and thus incurred the jealousy of others. (The Khulasat, p. 351.) Gentil who had served under him has left in his Memoirs an account of his fidelity and subsequent murder (pp. 217-235). *Vide* also an article on Gurgeen Khan by M. J. Seth (Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Vol. X, pp. 110-16).

[1] "... a man of the scum of the people, totally void of brains..." (The Seir, II, p. 390).

[2] The Khulasat, p. 351.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 117, p. 18.

[5] His sole qualification was that he was a good humourist. He was given the Commission "of conciliating to his government the minds of the principal persons of Patna." (The Seir, II, p. 390, and the Khulasat, p. 351.) He subsequently became the Nawab's Wakil. (Trans. P. L. R., 1763, No. 37, p. 32.)

[6] Fort William Consultations, Jan. 8, 1761.

[7] "A Letter from Certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal," p. 9.

[8] Fort William Consultations, July 28, 1760.

eve of Mir Jafar's deposition, the Raja was reported to have threatened Murshidabad.[1] After the revolution, Ashad Zaman Khan, the Raja, wrote to the governor protesting[2] against the deposition of the late Nawab, and made it an excuse of defying the new Nawab. Mir Qasim received information[3] about the threatened hostility of the Raja, and decided to take necessary steps agsinst him. Mr. Vansittart also instructed to punish the Raja.[4] The principal reason of the latter's hostile attitude was the Nawab's demand of a special contribution in addition to the usual revenue.[5] Ashad Zaman Khan was not going to obey the orders of the new Nawab who, he believed, had no moral right to the *masnad.* It was, however, no easy task to punish him. He had a small army of his own, and it was estimated that his combined forces and cavalry and infantry amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred.[6] An armed expedition was therefore necessary to coerce the Raja, and the Nawab lost no time in organising one.[7]

The Nawab's own military resources were extremely limited and his troops had not been fully paid. It was dangerous to march discontented troops against a rebellious Zemindar.[8] He had to seek the aid of a detatchment of the Company's forces. Mr. Vansittart informed the Nawab that Major Yorke was at his disposal, and could be employed against the Rajas of Birbhum and Bishanpur.[9] Early in January, 1761, the Nawab sent an expedition against the Raja of Birbhum.[10] His troops were commanded by Muhammad Khan and Gurgeen Khan[11] who were instructed to destroy the forces of the Raja before the arrival of Major Yorke.[1] Their campaign proved hardly glorious in the beginning, as the Nawab's troops were new recruits generally worthless and lacking in experience. Asad Zaman Khan took the field with his army and offered a stout resistance.[2] He had recourse to guerilla tactics, and harassed the Nawab's forces from different sides.[3] It seemed that the Raja was going to gain a decisive victory over the rabble army of the Nawab. That was, however, not to be. Major Yorke was soon able to turn the scale against the Raja.[4] The final blow [5] was dealt by a small force stationed in Burdwan under Major White who attacked the Raja in his rear and created a panic in his army.[6]

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[1] Fort William Consultations, Nov. 10, 1760.

[2] Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 1.

[3] ,, ,, ,, p. 3.

[4] Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 7.

[5] The Seir, II, p. 394.

[6] Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 19.

[7] ,, ,, ,, p. 3.

[8] Abs. P.L.R. ,, p. 19.

[9] ,, P.L.I., ,, p. 8 and p. 10.

[10] ,, P.L.R., ,, p. 4.

[11] The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 773.

Mir Qasim must have been deeply mortified to see the worthlessness of his own troops who were, by themselves, no match for the armed followers of even a Zemindar! The incapacity of his own officers and men left a deep impression in his mind. He realised that his whole military organisation needed a thorough overhauling without which his position was insecure. The revolt of the Raja of Birbhum was an object-lesson to him in the early days of his power. The helplessness of the Nawab was clearly demonstrated. However, the troubles in Birbhum and other places soon ceased. Asad Zaman Khan repented of his conduct, and submitted to the Nawab.[7] His submission was accepted on payment[8] of a huge indemnity from which the Nawab had to pay the Company's Sepoys handsomely for their courage against the Raja of Birbhum.[9]

[1] The Seir, II, p. 395.
[2] The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 773.
[3] The Seir, II, p. 395.
[4] Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 4.
[5] Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 37.
[6] Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 11.
[7] Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 91, pp. 5-6.
[8] The Khulasat, p. 352.
[9] Abs. P.L.I., 1752-65, p. 11.

Mir Qasim soon managed to bring some order out of chaos in the affairs of the government, and securely established himself on the *masnad* of Murshidabad. It began to appear that he had closely followed the instructions given [1] by Mr. Vansittart at the time of the latter's departure from Murshidabad, and the opening of his administration seemed to justify the hopes of his supporters.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

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[1] Fort William Consultations, Nov. 6, 1760.

Mr. Vansittart while departing from Murshidabad delivered an address to the Nawab, which contained the following instructions :—

(*i*) The affairs of the Government should be very carefully and prudently handled.

(*ii*) The Nawab should not entrust large powers to the subordinates, and must attend to the business of the state, in person.

(*iii*) One of the reasons of Mir Jafar's overthrow was his jealousy towards the English so the Nawab must not be jealous of his friends, the English.

(*iv*) If the 'Nawab' had any grievance against the English, he should not give vent to his indignation publicly, but ought to refer it to the Governor.

(*v*) Economy should be practised in every branch of the Government.

(*vi*) The Nawab must endeavour to punish the wrong-doers, and dispense right and free justice.

BEAUTY

Beauty is not for hands to touch ;
Leave roses on the bower,
Though we may love their petals much,
Our hands will soil the flower.

A woman's love is fair, so fair,
But do not heartaches gather?
For in life's urn there's tears of care
That make those blossoms wither.

William Allen Ward

FREDERICK SMETANA

A Great Bohemian Composer.

To-day we hear but little of the once popular Frederick Smetana. He does not deserve the oblivion into which both his works and his name have fallen during the last few years. He was one of the greatest musical pioneers of the last century ; for, being a national composer above all other things, Smetana worked to broaden the whole aspect of Bohemian music. He is reckoned to be the finest Bohemian composer on national subjects ; his writings are Bohemian to the very core, on every page of his music we find the unmistakable marks of nationalism, really beautiful music written in various peculiar rhythms, which are the essentials of Bohemian music.

Smetana was born in an obscure little village at the corner of Bohemia on March 2, 1824. As is the case with most musical geniuses, the love of music was apparent in Smetana at a very early age. He studied first under Proksch, becoming eventually a pupil of the renowned Liszt. Rapidly advancing under the capable tuition of this great man, he became a clever pianist. Following upon his immense success as a pianist, Smetana opened an academy of his own at Prague, where, later, he married Katherine Kodar, anothor celebrated pianist.

Smetana was not a prolific composer ; he was apt to believe more in quality than quantity, but there is, of course, ample material from which to judge his musicianship. In common with many other composers, it was Smetana's ambition to write opera scores above all other forms of music, but there is no doubt that the standard of his symphonies and his chamber-music is very high indeed. We occasionally hear of the celebrated "Bartered Bride" to-day, chiefly by reason of the fact that the overture to this work is performed frequently by different orchestras and bands. It was, and still is, Smetana's most popular work. It was composed in 1866, the same year that he obtained the post of conductor at the National Theatre. It aroused much enthusiasm both in Germany and in Vienna, where it was played for the first time six years after its composer's decease. It received two public performances in England, in 1893 and 1907, but failed to attract much success.

The music of the score of "The Bartered Bride" is coloured occasionally with the slightest addition of Beethoven, Cherubini and Mozart, but for the most it is typically Smetana and truly Bohemian. Whilst conducting at the National Theatre, Smetana, it is interesting to note, formed a friendship with Dvorák, who was at that time a young man in the orchestra. This friendship had a marked effect upon the composition of Dvorák, as will be seen in some of his composition, which are quite Bohemian in style.

Then came a bitter blow, and, like the immortal Beethoven, Smetana became gradually deaf. Tortured by the loss of his hearing, Smetana lost his reason and died in an asylum at Prague at the age of sixty years. But before he was overcome by this tragic affliction, and after composing the "Bartered Bride" he wrote six more operas ; these later six, unfortunately, are little known outside the composer's own country, where I believe, they are frequently performed. Although of great melodic beauty and full of originality, neither of the six are of the high standard of "The Bartered Bride," the work by which Smetana will always be remembered and revered. His best comic opera is written in the national spirit also, and is entitled "Der Kuss ;" whilst for originality his two historical operas, "Dalebor" and "Libusa" are to be highly commended.

Smetana wrote a very fine symphonic poem, "Mein Vaterland," which is cast into six sections, each of which contains some excellent musical writings and orchestration. It is probably the best of his four symphonies in this class. Of his two string quartets, in E minor and C major, the former appears to be the most popular composition of the two, partly because of its beautiful effect and melodic construction, and partly because it is a composition by which Smetana describes an important event in his crreer. I am sure that the earnest student of music would be well rewarded by a close study of Smetana's compositions.

LELAND J. BERRY

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚASTRA

On pages 389-410 of the Indian Historical Quarterly Dr. Narendranātha Law, the Editor, finds fault with my translation of some of the passages of the Arthaśāstra and presuming that his own interpretation is unquestionable jumps at the conclusion that my translation is unreliable. He says that after the publication of my translation a number of scholars like himself applied their minds to the correct interpretation of the text and that I did not take pains to avail myself of the results of their labour. It is true that I did not take the trouble of going through "Chāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra," which is an abridgement, if not a plagiarism, and "Inter-state Relations in Ancient India," which is more or less an Utopian work. In translating the work I strictly followed the rules of interpretation and Sanskrit grammar. Whether my interpretation is right or wrong, will be clear when the hollowness of his assertions are pointed out.

To begin with, he takes the passage—

"Maryādām sthāpayet āchāryānamātyān vā ya enamapāyasthānebhyo vārayeyuḥ chhāyānālikāpratodena vā rahasi pramādyantamabhitudeyuḥ."

My translation is as follows :—

(1) "Those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows, warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret, shall invariably be respected."

Here the word 'Maryādā' means limit, goal, boundary. Accordingly the passage means literally—The king should fix some limit or boundary of his proceedings for his teachers to interfere with and prevent him from going further. In other words he should respect his teachers when they prevent him from his careless proceedings. It is this secondary meaning which this Sanskrit word has in the Dravidian languages, Not satisfied with my interpretation the critic translates the passage—"The king should appoint as a barrier either Āchāryas or ministers, etc."

The critic is requested to explain what the "appointment of a barrier" means. Appointment of a barrier is never heard of.

(2) Bk. 7, 1.—On page 263 there occur the passages—

" Parasmāddhīyamānaḥ sandadhīta, Abhyuchchīyamānaḥ Vigṛihṇīyāt."

The translation is "whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war."

The critic finds fault with this translation and says that it is made "in such a way as to mislead an unwary reader into thinking that each condition is the only determining factor in regard to the connected course of action." Does he expect the translator to discourse on the ethics of the action implied by the sentences translated? The translator's business is to state the meaning of the sentences. If a reader like the critic draws misconclusions from it, it is not the fault of the translator.

(3) Bk. 7, 2, p. 267.—"Chhidreshu praharet."

Trans.—"He may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself." The critic says, "The utilisation of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder."

Does it then mean beating so as not to cause death? Such a course may satisfy the moral critic, but not a warrior bent on conquest. The author never meant mere beating here.

(4) Bk. 7, 4, p. 268.—The passage is "Ṣamahīnajyāyasām guṇābhinivesaḥ." *Trans.*—"The character of equal, inferior, and superior kings. The critic takes the word guṇa to mean courses of action. Guṇa never means action. It means character or nature, or quality. If action were meant, 'karma' would have been the word.

(5) Bk. 7, 4, p. 272.—The critic wastes his words by uselessly discoursing on "Sthāna, Āsana, and Upekshaṇa"

without pointing out any defect in my translation. Is this to swell the number of pages of his apparent criticisms ?

(6) Bk. 7, 4, p. 273.—The critic says here " The meaning conveyed by it may be put thus: " when the enemy is, etc."

It may be put in a hundred ways. Is it wrong to put it in the other way? Is this the way of pointing out errors?

(7) Bk. 7, 5, p. 278.—The passage is " Kṛitārthājjyāyaso gūḍhassāpadeśamapasaret

> aśucheśśuchivṛittāttu pratīkshetāvisarjanāt
> satrādapasaredyattaḥ kalatramapanīya vā.

Trans.—" When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of the superior. Till his discharge the good character of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised (the ' vijigīshu ' should closely scrutinise) either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (satra) to examine his conduct or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct."

Here ' pratīksheta ' means ' parīksheta.' But the critic taking it in the sense of " should wait " and omitting to consider the last passage where the superior king is stated to have taken the inferior king's wife as a pledge for his conduct, translates the passage as—" If the king, who has called him, be of superior strength and shows *symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage,*[1] the latter should come away from him secretly (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext or other ; should the former be just in his dealings (śuchivṛittāttu), the latter may wait up to the last *to have his share of gains made over to him.*"[2]

It is not known how the critic got the meaning marked by italicised words here in his translation. The passage cannot apply to an inferior king, for on account of his inferiority he cannot be expected to demand the superior to keep the latter's wife as a pledge for the latter's good conduct.

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[1] and [2] The italics are mine.

(8) 7, 6, p. 280.—Here the critic finds fault with the translation of the words (1) ' sandhi,' (2) ' akṛitachikīrshā,' (3) ' kṛitaśleshaṇa,' (4) ' kṛitavidūshaṇa ' and (5) ' avaśīrṇakriyā.' These words are explained in the text itself so as to give no room for misinterpretation.

1 " paṇabandhassandhiḥ"— "agreement with pledges is peace."

2 " akṛitachikīrshā " means as defined in the text (p. 280) a new agreement of peace (Trans., p. 309, 3rd Ed.).

3. " Kṛitaśleshaṇa" is defined as " kṛitasya——paripālanam " meaning " peace with binding terms."

4 " vyatikramaḥ kṛitavidūshaṇam," that is, the breaking of agreement is the breaking of peace,

5. Likewise " avaśīrṇakriyā " means restoration of peace.

In all these cases 'sandhi,' as opposed to 'vigraha,' must mean peace as opposed to war. If peace is not an appropriate equivalent word to the Sanskrit word "sandhi," it is the business of the critic to suggest a suitable word. But without any such suggestion, persistence in asserting " No, no " is no criticism.

(9) 7, 10, p. 293.—Here ' bhūmisandhi ' is translated as " agreement of peace for the acquisition of land." The critic says that the words 'of peace' may be omitted for the reason that peace implies war. Does not agreement imply disagreement?

(10) Likewise he says that the word " vijigīshu " should not be translated as " conqueror," but as " central sovereign or state." The critic ought to know that " vijigīshu " is a technical term and as such is defined in the text itself as " rājā ātmadravyaprakṛitisampanno nayasyādhishṭhānam," p. 260, " the king who, being possessed of good character and best fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror." The word literally means one who desires to conquer. I think it is not proper to translate a word setting aside its literal sense. The words suggested by the critic have no connection with the literal sense of the word. Accordingly his reference to his " Inter-state Relations in Ancient India" which he considers a perfect model work is of no use.

(11) 7, 7, Trans., p. 312.—Again the critic reverts to the question of the propriety of translating the word " sandhi " as peace, " samasandhi " as " even peace " and " vishamasandhi " as " uneven peace." In Ch. 17 of Book 7, the word ' sandhi ' is said to be equivalent to ' sama and samādhi. Samassandhis-samādhireko'rthaḥ. The words " sama, sandhi, samādhi " mean peace, calmness.

(12) 7, 7, Trans. p. 314.—Here the critic takes objection to the translation of the word " bhūyaḥ " as again and again. He takes it in the sense of " large." The passage runs as follows—" bhūyo labhamānaḥ vā jyāyāṃsam hīnam samam vā bhūyo yācheta. Bhūyo vā yāchitaḥ.........bhūyo dadyāt." Translated into English it means—" Though frequently getting (subsidy or something demanded), one may demand from a superior, inferior or equal (king) again (bhūyaḥ). Thus requested again (bhūyaḥ), the other may pay again (bhūyaḥ)." If " again " be replaced by the word " large," as suggested by the critic, it would run thus—" Though getting large (subsidy or something), one may demand from a superior, inferior, or equal (king) a large (subsidy or something). Thus requested for a large (subsidy or consideration), the other may pay or give a large (subsidy or consideration). A good Sanskrit scholar can very well know whether the word ' bhūyaḥ ' here means " again " or " large."

(13) 7, 7, p. 285.—The paragraph begins with " jyāyāṃsam vā hīnam vā..." Here the critic proposes to change the reading from " jyāyāṃsam " to jyāyān. ' In that case the word ' vā ' also has to be omitted. It is not the business of a translator to make such changes. Accordingly the critic's proposed translation of the passage is unacceptable and unjustifiable.

(14) 7, 8, p. 286.—The critic says that " in the first paragraph of the trans. ' paropakara ' has been translated by the word ' misery '...." It is 'śarīra-bādha' that has been translated by the word ' misery.' The equivalent of the word 'paropakāra,' helping the enemy, has somehow or other dropped out of the

translation. The critic's main aim is to shut-his own eyes and blame others for his own inability to see the things as they are. The variant reading referred to by the critic in the next paragraph is not supported by manuscripts so far discovered. As it is, the translation of the passage is alright.

(15) P. 316 of the Trans.—The omission of the word 'sambandhāvekshī' in the translation is an oversight here. With regard to the translation of the third paragraph on p. 287, with the words "kṛitasandhiratikramitukāmaḥ, etc.," the critic says that the translation is obscure and explains the meaning of the paragraph. In doing this the critic dissects the sentence in such a way that in the explanation given by him the object of the predicate becomes a condition, and a condition an object aimed at.

(16) In the next paragraph "śakyārambhī" is translated as "whoever undertakes a tolerable work is the beginner of a possible work." The critic says that it is faulty without pointing out the fault and suggests his own translation as "one who is engaged in an operation the completion of which is within the limits of his ability." This is explanation, but not translation, for there are no words, "limits, ability," in the text.

(17) In the same paragraph "alpenāpyanugraheṇa kāryam sādhayati" is translated "brings to a successful termination any work without losing anything in the form of favour." The critic calls this not faithful to the text and suggests "accomplishes his work even with small help." 'Anugraha' does not mean help, but favour.

(18) In the next passage he suggests his own translation for which there are no words in the text. The text and translations are as follows :—

Text.	S.'s trans.	Suggested trans.
tayorekapurushānugrahe yo mitram mitrataram vā anugṛihṇāti so'tisandhatte.	Of the two, conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who	Of the two kings, each helping another king, *one an enemy* (*but now an ally*) and the other a friend, the king who hap-

helps a true or truer friend overreaches the other.	pens to render assistance to the friend becomes a gainer; and *of the two kings, each helping another king, one friendly and the other friendly in a special degree,* the king who assists the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara) becomes a greater gainer.[1]

There are no words in the text corresponding to the words italicised here in the proposed translation.

(19) Text, p. 288.—Here the critic objects to the translation of the words "Madhyama and Udāsīna," as "mediatory and neutral." He must know that these words are put here and there along with the original and sometimes without the original words for the sake of brevity, but not as correct equivalents. They are technical words defined by the author himself in 6, 2, p. 261, of the text. They are susceptible of no translation. Hence the objection is groundless. The translation of "viguṇa" as "devoid of good qualities" is correct and exact. His translation of the same as "unfavourable, or turning false" cannot be acceptable to Sanskritists.

(20) 7, 9, Trans., p. 320.—Here the text runs as follows:—

> sarvachitramahābhogaṃ trividham vaśyamuchyate
> ekatobhogyubhayataḥ sarvatobhogi chāparam.

Trans.—"That friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend and is said to be of three forms: one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third."

This meaning is what the words here convey. The author of the Arthaśāstra, however, explains the word 'sarvachitramahābhoga' later on in Ch. 16 as a sarvabhoga friend, a chitrabhoga friend, and a mahābhoga friend. Here only three forms of these friends are explained. 'Sarvabhoga' and the two other terms are technical terms and are minutely explained there, by the author. Accordingly what the words literally convey here is brought out in the transalation by using the phrase " in various ways." Nor can the meaning assigned to these terms by the author be shown in the translation. Footnote is the only means to point out such details. As these terms are not referred to elsewhere in the text, no attempt to explain them in the author's own words is made here. This the critic calls ' gross misinterpretation.' Where is misinterpretation? Nor is the whole expression treated here as referring to a single person.

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[1] The italics are mine.

(21) 7, Ch. 11, p. 295.—Here the question is regarding the meaning of the word " anavasitasandhi " which forms the heading of the chapter. In order to give his own fanciful meaning to the word, the learned critic displays his own stupendous ignorance of Sanskrit grammar. He says—" anavasitasandhi means alliance for colonizing waste lands instead of interminable agreement as interpreted by Dr. S. The derivation may be put thus : vas *plus* kta = ushita or vasita (?) (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 932, col. 3); na *plus* vasita = avasita (uninhabited); na *plus* avasita = anavasita, that is, uninhabited lands converted into a colony."

Here the grammatical feat displayed by the critic cannot be supported. From the root 'vas' to dwell 'vasita' cannot be formed with the suffix 'kta.' It is 'ushita,' but not 'vasita.' The dictionary may refer to a Vedic word, but not to a Classical Sanskrit word. Besides 'anavasitasandhi' is a compound word. The vigrahavākya may be as " anavasitaśchāsau sandhiścha or anavasitasya sandhiḥ." In the former case it means an inhabited agreement, which is absurd. In the second case, the first word is an adjective and can not be compounded with a noun in Shashṭhītatpurusha.

In fact the root is " Sho antakarmaṇi. 'Sita' is a perfect participle derived from it. 'Ava' is a particle (upasarga). Compounded with 'na' it becomes 'anavasita'—unending or unended The compound word means an unending agreement for colonization. It is not known why the critic has gone so headlong with the word?

(22) The words "pratyupasthitārtha" and "yathoktaguṇā" are references to the previous chapter. They are translated there. Here the first word is a part-quotation; the whole word is "pratyupasthitārthasampannam" rich or fertile land with standing crops. Also it is here used as an adjective to the subject (king). Accordingly it means the king who has taken possession of the ready crops, that is, "has harvested earlier." 'Yathoktaguṇā' means the land of described quality. Accordingly it means fertile land, since a fertile tract is referred to in the previous chapter. These are a dull student's queries and such objections are not worthy of a learned critic.

(23) 7, 12, Trans., p. 327.—Here the figures are wrong. They ought to be 11, Trans., 324 (3rd Ed.). It is not known where the critic has got the word "prabhūtavāpasthāna" from. The manuscripts collated by me give the reading "Prabhūtapūrvāparasasyam," but not 'prabhūtavāpasthāna.' As regards the word "vāpa," it occurs in the compound "dhānyavāpamadhānyavāpāchchhreyaḥ," that which is conducive to the growth of grains is better than another productive of crops other than grains. It is rather surprising that the critic is very careless in his references and citations.

(24) In the fifth paragraph, p. 299 (text), there is nothing to indicate that the paragraph refers only to elephants and not to men. The word "tatrāpi" may mean "in this connection." The whole paragraph may be taken to apply to elephants or persons or to both.

(25) 7, 13, p. 301 (text), Trans., p. 329.—Here the critic objects to the use of "has to put down," and proposes the use of "may put down," as better. My object in using "has to"

is to show that the enemy attacking his enemy, that is the conqueror's friend, will be obliged to return to attack the vijigīshu after finishing work with his frontal enemy; otherwise, the frontal enemy and the vijigīshu who are friends will combine to make an end of the vijigīshu's frontal enemy, whereas in the case of the other (vijigīshu's side enemy now in alliance with the vijigīshu) the frontal enemy will fall back for want of resources to accomplish his end ; and the situation will be unchanged as before.

(26) The critic says that ' chakra ' means army. It may mean so in his imaginary dictionary. Similarly "chalamitra and sthitamitra" may mean in his dictionary enemies with or without forts. Such meanings may be secondary, implied from the context. But the translator's business is to render the words as literally as possible and leave the reader to understand the secondary meaning from the context.

(27) The same explanation holds good with the rendering of the words 'mūlahara,' 'tādatvika' and 'kadarya' in Bk. 2, ch. 9, p. 69. There is no special technical meaning assigned to these words.

(28) With regard to the translation of the next paragraph, the critic remarks by saying that it creates the impression that a king used to attack his friend's territory. How can it be avoided, when the word " mitrābhiyoginōḥ," those two kings who attack their own friends, gives that meaning ? Besides such practices were not uncommon in ancient India. Still more clearly is conveyed the same idea in the next paragraph : " mitramamitram chābhiyuñjānayoḥ," " of those two, who attack a friend and an enemy, etc." If this revolts against the high moral sense of the critic, he may turn away his eyes from such books.

(29) In the next passage " amitroddhāriṇaḥ " is the reading adopted and translated as " one engaged in attacking a friend and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages." The critic is so blinded with

prejudice as not to see this and imagines wrong things where there are only right things. The akāra-sign is omitted in the printed text. In the translation it is correctly read.

(30) In the second paragraph of the translation, p. 331, 3rd Ed., the word of the text " alabdhalābhāvagamane " has been translated as " to enforce the payment of what is not gained by them, that is, what is not due to them." To the critic this is wide of the mark. His own rendering which he imagines to be within the mark is " in the case of returning unsuccessful." Here in the compound word, there are three words: (1) 'alabdha,' (2) 'lābha,' (3) 'avagamana.' Which of these words signifies the idea of returning and which the idea of unsuccessful? Let the critic carefully examine this and give his reply.

(31) With regard to the meaning of the text (p. 303), the critic enters upon a long discourse and wastes words without arriving at any result. He thinks that the sentence " yasya vā yātavyaḥ......syāt " goes with the previous paragraph. There are two " vās " and one " api " in the paragraph. If there are no two sentences signifying two kinds of circumstances, that is if there is only one sentence referring to an entrenched rear enemy capable of augmenting his army and other resources on the flank, then what is the use of " vā " after " sthāyi "? " yasya vā," and " yo vā " mean two kinds of situations. Besides what does the critic gain by taking the first sentence with the preceding paragraph? ~~The~~alternative implied by 'vā' cannot refer to Mūlabādhaka, for that comes later in the paragraph. Sāmantāḥ (plural) is a wrong reading, for it has no connection in the sentence. Samaantāt (ablative) is correct reading, for it can be taken with the word " pṛishṭhataḥ." Sāmanta has been translated as an assailant king. Sāmantāt pṛishṭhataḥ means behind the assailant king. There are three rear-enemies clearly stated here in the text : " pārshṇigrāhāstrayo jñeyāḥ," one behind the Sāmanta and two on the two sides of the Sāmanta. In the face

of such verbal citation of the author, the critic blindly says that they constitute only one class.

(32) His objection to the rendering of the word " udāsīna " as neutral has already been disposed of. It is a technical word with such meaning as the author has given to it.

(33) At the end of the page 303, is found the sentence " pārshṇigrāhābhiyānayostu mantrayuddhādabhyuchchayaḥ." The meaning is " excellence of (any one of) the two is on account of the facility it gives for mantrayuddha." The critic proposes to take this sentence with the next as forming part of the teacher's opinion (ityāchāryaḥ). He assigns no reason for it. Reason or no reason, he must find fault with the translation. There is however a strong reason for not taking it as a part of the teacher's opinion. The teacher says—" In an open war both sides suffer by sustaining a heavy loss of men and money." Kautilya's refutation of this opinion is thus stated—" No. Even at considerable loss of men and money the destruction of an enemy is desirable." The teacher was against open war. But Kautilya was for it. Then where is the reason for taking the previous sentence about the excellence of rear and frontal attacks as forming part of the teacher's opinion, when it is not refuted ?

(34) With regard to the translations of the second paragraph on p. 304 of the text, the critic interprets it differently and calls my translations incorrect. The sentences are however susceptible of two interpretations both being syntactically and grammatically right. The words " purastāt " and " paśchāt are used in the text in the sense of " front " and " rear " (see p. 260 of the text). Accordingly " purastāt dūshyabalam hatvā " is interpreted by me as " having destroyed the frontal enemy." But the critic, taking the words " purastāt " and " paśchat " in the sense of " first " and " subsequently " propose to interpret the passages as " having destroyed the recalcitrant portion of the army first, he who uses the submissive portion of his army (vaśyabala) next......"

Are we to suppose then that wars were a means of getting rid of treacherous persons in the army ? How could the kings rely upon their army? If a vast part of such army is destroyed, as stated in the second sentence, in the view of the critic, would the remaining submissive part be of help to the king? Again would the disaffected army submit itself for slaughter so easily ? Would they not run away or yield themselves to the enemy. For these reasons I have translated the sentences differently. No rules of grammar or syntax are violated. Accordingly the critic cannot call my interpretation wrong.

(35) In order to easily understand the verses which follow and my interpretation of which is now questioned, a correct understanding of the technical terms with the aid of the diagram given below is quite necessary.

1. Enemy' friend's friend.
2. Friend's friend (of the Vijigīshu).
3. Enemy's friend.
4. Friend (of the Vijigīshu).
5. Enemy.
6. Vijigīshu.
7. Pārshṇigrāha or rear-enemy of the Vijigīshu.
8. Ākranda (Vijigīshu's friend in the rear).
9. The ally of the rear-enemy (Pārshṇigrāhābhisāra).
10. Friend's friend of the Vijigīshu in the rear (Ākrandābhisāra).

Thus five states are supposed to be situated in front of the Vijigīshu, and four states are supposed to be situated likewise in the rear.

7,13, p. 304.—The verse runs as follows :—

> pārshṇigrāho'-bhiyoktā vā yātavyo vā yadā bhavet
> vijigīshustadā tatra netrametat samācharet.

As against my translation of this verse, the critic offers his own translation as follows—" when the vijigīshu happens to be in the position of either of the rear-invader (pārshṇigrāha), or the invader (abhiyoktṛ), or the king invaded (yātavya), he should thus conduct the operations. " But the critic ought to know that if the word " vijigīshu " is taken as the subject of " bhavet," there is no second word, " vijigīshu " or " he " in the verse to be taken as the subject of the verb, " samācharet." Accordingly he cannot take that word as the subject of " bhavet, " and " pārshṇigrāha" and other two words as the complements of the verb " bhavet." Hence his translation falls to the ground. My construction is the only reasonable and correct construction of the sentence.

In the second verse there is ' pārshṇigrāha ' in the nominative case and in the 3rd verse another ' pārshṇigrāha ' in the accusative case. Evidently both words must signify the same person, and must refer to the 7th in the diagram ; he is a rear-enemy of the vijigīshu and a friend of the enemy (5). Accordingly he becomes the leader in the operation in which the enemy attacks the vijigīshu's friend. In this situation the vijigīshu sets his rear-friend, ākranda (8), against the ally of the rear-enemy, pārshṇigrāhābhisārī (9), and also against the rear-enemy, pārshṇigrāha (7), and prevents the pārshṇigrāha from coming against himself. This is the reasonable meaning. But the critic offers his own translation as " The netṛ (here the vijigīshu) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the vijigīshu)." If this be the meaning, then the pārshṇigrāha to be checked by the vijigīshu would be another. It is against the accepted rule of interpretation to take ~~the~~ word, pārshṇigrahaḥ and pārshṇigrām in the same context to refer to two different persons. Hence the critic ought to know that his interpretation is utterly wrong. It is unnecessary now to point out other absurdities committed by the prejudiced critic. Regarding the translation of " ātmārtham " as " under his sway," it is enough to say that in politics no king can utilise the services of other kings, unless they are under his influence or sway.

(36) 7, 13, p. 305.—"mitrabhūtassapatnānāṃ hatvā hatvā cha saṃvṛitaḥ."—Here mitrabhūtah does not mean "under the guise of their friend." "Saṃvṛitaḥ" is an adjective to vijigīshu, but not an adverb modifying "hatvā," killing. When after all the purport is the same here, what is the use of this wild goose chase?

(37) 7, 14, p. 305.—The word "ubhayavetanāḥ" means recipients of salaries from two (states). 'Ubhaya' means two. But the critic says "spies drawing salaries from the attacked king, but ostensibly in the pay of the minor allies of the enemy." Does that word convey so much meaning? The critic is very generous with the words.

(38) Atisaṃhitāḥ means both cheated and well-combined.

(39) 7, 14, p. 306.—Here the critic says that "dushṭa" should not be translated as "wicked." He does not however say how it should be translated. As regards a different reading in the text referred to by the critic, he may rest assured that none of the manuscripts so far consulted by me contains that reading.

(40) 7, 15.—"Uparodha" in the heading of the chapter does not mean shutting oneself in a fort. Nor does "daṇḍopanata" mean "self-submitter." Where is the idea of self in the word? What about the word "daṇḍa?" "Daṇḍena kāraṇena upanataḥ, meaning "bent with force." Accordingly it means a conquered enemy. The critic plays with Sanskrit words.

(41) P. 336 of the translation.—In the passage 'tulyadurgāṇām the critic translates "viśesha" as superiority. It means difference, differentiation (for the purpose of selection), but not superiority. 'Nichaya' means collection of things, not necessarily necessaries of life, as translated by the critic.

(42) 7, 16, p. 311.—The word "daṇḍopanāyi-vṛittam," means the attitude of a conquering king. Conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king. "Daṇḍena balena upanayati jayati anyān iti daṇḍopanāyī," a king conquering others with his force. "Tasya vṛittam," his attitude. The

critic translates the word as "dominator," setting aside the idea implied by the words, 'daṇḍa,' 'upanāyi,' and 'vṛitta.' Regarding the interpretation of the chapter, the critic presumes that I misunderstood the whole chapter and that my translation is wrong. The clue to interpret the chapter is contained in the opening line, "anujñātaḥ taddhiraṇyodvegakaram balavāṇ vijigīshamāṇaḥ." Anujñātaḥ means one who is permitted to do something, one who has received orders from one's master (implied by the word "bhartāram" at the end of the second paragraph on page 312 of the text), to go on with some work. 'Balavān,' powerful, and 'vijigīshamāṇaḥ,' conquering, are two adjectives to "anujñātaḥ," used here as a noun. "Taddhiraṇyodvegakaram, tasya, bhartuḥ, daṇḍopanāyino vā hiraṇyavishyakam udvegam khedam karoti itī......karam (rajānam)" is the object of the gerund "vijigīshamāṇaḥ." The passage means—"A commander or an ally going under his master's permission to conquer a king who is the cause of his master's anxiety about finance. Such a man, the text goes on to say, should march on ......and do this and that, dethrone some, reinstate others and so on."

But the critic offers his own translation of the opening line as follows—"when a powerful king (that is, the dominator) intends to subdue one who, after making a promise (to pay), causes anxiety in regard to the payment of money, he should march......". Where is the word implying 'promise' here? One who is 'anujñāta' goes with the work, but not the dominator. What is the meaning of the pronoun "tat" in the compound,—"taddhiraṇyodvegakaram." It cannot refer to 'anujñāta,' the subject of "yāyāt." In that case "sva" ought to have been used. I assure the critic that I do not hesitate to accept real errors, if I have committed any, and if they are pointed out to me. But with regard to interpretation of this chapter, I am convinced that I am right and that he is wrong.

The critic failed to understand the meaning of the words "anujñāta" and "Balavān," which, if they mean anything at all, must mean "a powerful vassal king, or a commander under 'anujñā,' permission, from his superior. Accordingly my translation of them as a powerful vassal (king), is not absurd, but the critic's rendering of those words as "dominator" is entirely unjustifiable. No Sanskritist will interpret 'anujñāta' as "dominator." Except that word there is no other word which can be taken as the subject of the verbs signifying various activities in the whole chapter.

The sentence beginning with "evamutsāhavato" is taken to end with "bhūmyupakāriṇaḥ." Accordingly the trans. "He may reinstate," ends with "as well as those who are wise and who can therefore provide him with lands." Yet the critic is so blinded with prejudice that he cannot see things as they are; but only those which prejudice presents to him.

(43) Text, p. 312.—The reading is "yadamitramāsāram chopakaroti tadubhayatobhogi." *Trans.* "Whoever helps also his enemy and his enemy's allies (implying by 'also,' in addition to the help given to the vijigīshu), is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides (friend and enemy). But the critic adopts the reading "chāpakaroti," and translates as "who harms the enemy as well as the enemy's ally is one who helps in two ways." What the two ways are, is not clear. If harming the enemy means an indirect help to the friend, it is helping only in one way. If in addition to helping the friend he harms the enemy, then it is clear that he helps in two ways. But the text is silent about the help given to the friend. Is not then the critic blinded with prejudice?

(44) P. 312.—"pareṇādhivāsyayā svayameva bhartāramupagrāhayet."—*Trans.* "with a piece of land uninhabitable by an enemy, he (the 'anujñāta)' should present his 'bhartāram,' master or protector, 'svayameva,' himself in person. The omission of 'pareṇa,' 'by an enemy' in the translation is a mistake. 'Bhartā,' master or protector, in this sentence is the 'bhartā' of the 'anujñātā' who is the subject to the predicate. This is an accepted rule of syntax. 'Bhartā' cannot be taken to mean the

former holder of the land, for "land" implied by 'adhivāsyayā' goes with the predicate, but not with 'bhartā,' with which the subject is correlated, according to the rules of syntax.

Will the critic open his eyes and see things in their proper light?

(45) 7, 18, p. 317.—The passage runs as—"madhyamasyātmatṛitīyā pañchamī cha prakṛiti prakṛitayaḥ." *Trans.* "The third and the fifth states from a Madhyama king are states friendly to him." The critic adopts a different reading as "madhyamasyātmā tṛitīyā pañchamī cha prakṛitī prakṛitayaḥ." It means: "the Madhyama himself, the third and the fifth states from him are states friendly to him." It means that Madhyama is friendly to himself. What is the use of such self-evident statement? As to the use of "prakṛitayaḥ" in plural, it is only to balance with 'vikṛitayaḥ' in the next sentence. In the translation of the last sentence of this paragraph, "friendly with those states," is to be corrected as "friendly with those prakṛiti states." The omission of 'prakṛiti' is an oversight.

46. 7, 18, p. 317, Trans., p. 344.—The passage is "madhyamaḥ......mitram mitrabhāvi lipseta,......mitrastrāyeta." *Trans.* "If the Madhyama king is desirous of securing the friendship of the conqueror's would-be friend,......the conqueror should preserve his own friend." But the critic offers his own translation as, "If the Madhyama king wants to bring under sway a really friendly king,.........the latter (Central state) should save him." What did the critic gain by such change of words? His objection to the use of "conqueror" for 'vijigīshu,' "mediatory" for 'madhyama,' and "neutral" for 'udāsīna' is groundless. As word-meanings they are expected to convey the technical sense assigned to them by the author in Artha. 6, 2, pp. 260-261. Without that explanation, even the Sanskrit words would be misleading. The critic's explanatory note on the word, 'udāsīna' as 'ut—ūrdhvam āsīnaḥ,' that is, "seated on a height," is unauthorised and unacceptable to Sanskritists.

47. 7, 18, p. 320.—The passage runs as—"nopakuryāda-

mitraṃ vā gachchhedyadatikarśitam." *Trans.* "The conqueror should never help his friend, when the latter is more and more deteriorating." Here "and joins an enemy (amitram gachchhet)," is omitted.

"Chalam mitram," means a moving or wandering friend like an āṭavika. "Chalam lakshyam" means a moving object aimed at, but not an unstable object. 'Chañchala' means unstable. Hence the critic's translation of "chalam mitram" as an unstable friend cannot be accepted.

48. "Niveśya pūrvaṃ tatrānyaddaṇḍānugrahahetunā" is a passage on the same page. *Trans.* "Having made some previous arrangement to punish or favour the friend." Here 'daṇḍa' and 'anugraha' are two opposite things and mean puuishment and favour respectively. With the previous passage, the sentence means, "the conqueror should keep him (the fickle-minded friend) in another tract of land, having made there some previous arrangement (niveśya tatra anyat pūrvam) for punishment or favour. But the critic reads "anyam" for "anyat," and translates as "having previously stationed there another person for rendering military help." In this rendering no distinction is made between "daṇḍa and anugraha." 'Daṇḍa' cannot be 'anugraha.' Nor can 'daṇḍānugraha' mean military help; the appropriate word for it is 'daṇḍasāhāyya.' Again if military help is rendered to a friend who sides both with the enemy and the vijigīshu at his own will and pleasure, what good will it do to the vijigīshu? Will such a friend go and settle in the country in which a man with a strong military force is stationed by the conqueror? Not at all. Hence the reading of "anyat" is better than "anyam."

49. The next verse runs as follows :—

> "apakuryāt samarthaṃ vā nopakuryādyadāpadi
> uchchhindyādeva tanmitram......................."

Trans. "or the conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful or destroy him when he does not help the conqueror in danger......"

But the critic offers his own translation as (him) *who does harm (to the central state) when powerful* and who does not help the central state in danger, the vijigīshu should destroy.''[1]

Here if " apakuryāt samarthaṃ vā '' is taken as an adjectival sentence to 'mitra,' then what is the use of the second adjectival sentence "nopakuryāt......dāpadi ? '' For he who does harm to the central state will never help it in danger. Hence the second adjectival sentence will be of no use. For this reason the subject of the predicate ''apakuryāt'' is not ''mitra,'' but the vijigīshu as in the case of the other principal predicates found in all other verses.

50. The next and the last verse in question is as follows :

> ''amaitravyasanānmitramutthitaṃ sad virajyati
> arivyasanasiddhyā tachchhatruṇaiva prasidhyati.''

Trans. " When a friend keeps quite after rising against an enemy under troubles that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.''

The critic's translation is as follows :—

If a 'mitra' after growing in power (utthita) owing to the 'vyasanas' (calamities) of his enemy becomes disaffected (towards the vijigīshu), then by the removal of the ' vyasanas ' of the enemy (of the 'mitra'), he (the 'mitra') is brought under control through the enemy (of the 'mitra').

Here, ''utthitam'' does not mean growing in power. Being a perfect participle of the verb, ''sthā,'' to stand, it always means ''one who has risen or that which has risen.'' The word "virajyati,'' "vairāgyam gachchhati,'' or "virakto bhavati," does not mean dissaffected, or indisposed to favour or support, turn out unfriendly or hostile. Again " śatruṇā '' does not mean through the enemy. The proper word to convey that meaning is "śatrudvārā " or "śatrumukhena," but never " śatruṇā." Again " śatruṇā prasidhyati '' does not at all mean ''is brought under control through the enemy." Again the critic says, "by the removal of the 'vyasanas' of the enemy." Who removes the 'vyasanas'? Considering the construction of the sentence, it must be admitted that he who brings the 'mitra' under control is the person who removes the 'vyasanas' of the enemy. Evidently he must be the vijigīshu. Are we to understand then that in order to bring his friend under control the vijigīshu removes the 'vyasanas' of his own enemy? The vijigīshu's friend's enemy is also the vijigīshu's enemy (see Artha. 6, 2). By his translation, the critic has taught us here a new political lesson. It is that in order to bring under control a hostile friend an enemy may be helped to get rid of his troubles!

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[1] Only the italicised portion is given by the critic; the rest is added by me.

Calling my translation unreliable, the critic seems to think that his own translation, ungrammatical and illogical as it clearly is, is more reliable. Let the reader judge it for mimself.

R. SHAMASASTRY

Reviews

" **The Case for Financial Justice to Bengal.** "—By J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.). Calcutta University Press, 1931. Pp. 102.

"Stands Bengal where it did" is the pertinent issue raised by the author in this brief monograph. Once styled the ' paradise ' of India the Bengal province has now become the hunting ground of malaria, kala-azar, hookworm and other fell tropical diseases (see pp. 67, 68, 98). No longer are such stalwart children like Raja Vikramadit and his devoted band of followers to be seen anywhere in the province. The main cause for this deplorable and unfortunate situation is not the mere passing of the time and the work of unkind cut of fate but the financial starvation of the nation-building departments has been the chief cause of this unfortunate and dreary situation.

During the past eight years the subject of ' financial injustice ' arising out of the Meston Settlement has been discussed threadbare in all the industrial provinces, *viz.*, Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Bihar and Orissa. Without traversing in detail the early history of the financial decentralisation that proceeded since 1870 the author has wisely selected a few typical instances of the sad neglect of Bengal's claims by the Government of India in the allocation of revenues. Following the lines of thought of the veteran economist, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, he has pointed out the salient features of the early financial administration. Attention has been drawn to the overspending of the Military Department, the excessive Home Charges and the ruinous outlay in the Civil Administration Departments. The nation-building and social service departments have always been the Cinderella in the unfortunate picture. Even " now one-fourth of the Provincial revenues and one-fifth of the revenues of India are employed on purely national objects."

After outlining the broad present-day features of Indian financial economy on pp. 19 and 20 the author examines the reasons for the failure of the Montagu-Chelmsford financial scheme and the Meston Settlement as it is propularly referred to. " Power without purse " has been the nature of the shift of new political responsibility or 'dyarchy' introduced into the country. Starting with the initial handicaps of heavy financial deficits, inelastic revenues and growing uncontrollable expenditure no province could make any considerable leeway under the new administrative arrangements.

The present financial position of the province can be briefly stated as one steadily making the largest financial contribution to the central government and retaining the smallest percentage for her own administrative necessities. Even the extinction of provincial contributions and the help derived by Devolution Rule 15 have not bettered the financial position in any important way.

While pleading passionately for a prompt revision of the financial changes he cites positive historical proofs when other provinces depended on Bengal. Bengal was even then, in the earlier Company days, the milch cow and the financing of the military expeditions was done out of the Bengal surplus. This plea has been evidently staged to refute the mischievous allegation that Bengal is not entitled to better treatment so long as the Permanent Settlement of land tends to make its revenue inelastic. He wisely points out that the so-called elasticity of land revenue even in the Ryotwari tracts would be a misnomer in the near future. But for this Permanent Settlement which has lent the silver lining to the cloud, the position of the heavily-taxed province would have been far worse, for, next to Bombay, Bengal is the most heavily taxed province. (See p. 60.)

In Section VI the sad and inevitable neglect of the nation-building departments has been traced to the growing financial embarrassment of the province. As Sir Walter Layton points out "the expansion of education and other (nation-building) services has practically ceased." While the transfer of certain heads of expenditure which were provincialised by the Government of India, as for instance, the financing of the twin Universities of Bengal, took place, no proper provision was made to grant additional revenue for carrying out these charges in a fair and equitable manner. The monumental labour of the late Sir Austosh Mookerjee which has seen its embodiment in the famous Sadler Report has gone unrewarded, for Rs. 61 lakhs capital expenditure and Rs. 65 lakhs recurring expenditure needed for carrying out its recommendations have never been provided by any government—neither the central nor the provincial government.

Wise administrative outlay and increasing financial revenues alone can secure the economic progress of the province, argues the author. Can the Layton Scheme hope to provide the wherewithal for the above programme is the topic in Section VII. After quoting the pertinent points of criticism which have been elaborated by the Government of India and the other critics the author wisely remarks that nothing is more fundamental for the success of Indian Federation than "the securing of financial justice to the different provinces and granting equality to all individual provincial states."

Without making a fetish of "absolute delimitation of the sphere of taxation" the author has followed the lines of reasoning of Prof. Banerjea and warmly approves the idea of "divided heads of revenue, and some taxes to be used as 'balancing factors' to correct any errors of financial mis-calculation if any such were to arise in the near future. While envisaging the 'field of taxation as a totality' some taxes would be all-India, some purely provincial, some divided heads and some would be balancing factors," p. 89.

Now that the "fact-finding Expert Committee" is garnering the reliable data and factual estimates of revenue and expenditure, the author has wisely taken time by the forelock and has forcibly and lucidly presented the case of Bengal for a just and equitable financial settlement. He wisely appeals for a measure of full co-operation amongst all the citizens in presenting the case of Bengal before the bar of the Expert Committee (Federal Finance Committee) of the Round Table Conference.

Will this able effort secure financial justice to Bengal? We hope and sincerely wish it would, but knowing that there is no economic justice anywhere in the wide world we have our own misgivings in this respect. 'Equal justice and equal rights' for which modern democracy stands are unrealisable so long as powerful vested interests stand in the way and the central government refuses to move out of the rut of financial policy. We sincerely hope that economic statesmanship will rise equal to the occasion and not only reconstruct the Indian constitutional framework in the light of the above principles but provide the necessary sinews to the provinces to enable them to live in peace and prosperity.

Every citizen of Bengal should peruse this monograph and should feel grateful to the able and retired civilian for not mincing facts and his frank courage in "calling a spade a spade."

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Story of Maryam: a continuation of "The Story of Hassan."—Told by Hassan, and Englished by John Anthony. Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 22 Berners Street, London, W. 1. 7*s*. 6*d*. 1930.

This is a refreshing book of boyish adventure and the story, running through 24 chapters, hardly flags. "Hassan," the narrator, has already made an entry into literature, and has been duly applauded on entrance.

The many pious (?) remarks like " we are all inescapably led by Allah through devious turnings " add spice to the delicious repast spread before the reader. The glory and majesty divine of " Ishtunts " (Assistant Commissioners ?), the mention of Ismith Sahib (Mr. Smith), the comparison of Nat Gould and Shakespeare as authors,—all these give the book an oriental touch. The sarcastic sentences, purporting to be observations of a mature experience, are interspersed throughout the volume and add to its beauty ; two might serve here for a specimen. " How can a man go about his work, if he has no wife to cook and bring him his meals? " And a little after this,—speaking of a woman and a cow,—" Of the two, the cow is the more docile and obedient animal " !

But how does it sit in the mouth of a follower of Mahammad, talking to his wife, to say: " In your family, I know, every boy is born a *Raja* "? Again, Ladda, speaking freely to Chiragh Bibi, and moralising, with " Youth too often suffers from ideals " belongs to Utopia. We read at p. 57,—" Only women of the lowest classes go about unveiled;" evidently, unreality is in the air,—we are going through what is frankly speaking a romance. There is mention also of a remote village in the Frontiers, where a *Babu* is in charge of the post office and he delivers letters to the workers in a neighbouring factory on receipt of a *small bribe* ! But all these instances merely lend force to Maryam's saying, that " it was all like a fairy tale."

Another feature of the novel remains to be noted. In course of the story we come across a number of short stories which are pungent with broad touches, reminding us, if we compare small things with great, of the Decameron. And so we have here in the manner of the Arabian Nights modified or toned down to the needs of a 20th century miniature, an odd mixture of romantic setting, bizarre plot, and side-dishes of a hot taste,—which, we hope, the reader will find spicy enough and enjoy the meal.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Without Prejudice. By S. G. Dunn. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. A Collection of 26 Pieces or Essays in Prose and Verse.

These "Essays in Prose and Verse " are pleasant reading. The author has dedicated the collection to his " friends," the readers, and the intimate tone admirably suits the form of these essays. Almost all of them have been written after the war, and the sequel has but strengthened the attitude of the author to things in general and that attitude is,—" without prejudice." The pieces are well-balanced, there being the same number of prose as of verse writings.

The first prose essay is on "The Romantic in Religion." It is reprinted from *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908. The conventional in religion asks for the right or approved sort of conduct, while the romantic would approve only of action or thought freed from convention ; and Mr. Dunn asserts that Christ's teaching is romantic. What could be more romantic, say, than "the spirit bloweth whithersoever it listeth" ? True, the number of those who are really romantic in religion must always be small: who are "unconventional enough to go against authority and rule, defy the tyranny of things" ; who are "enough in love with life and human nature to lose for it all that most men deem makes life worth living." Almost all the other prose essays are like this,—fresh, simple, grave, artistic. As regards the verse essays, three are above the average, one on the Taj Mahal, a fragment only, on the "song of joy transmuted into stone," the other two on India. From both of these, a few lines by way of quotation will not be out of place. The first utters a beautiful prayer:

"O God! the Nameless under many names!
O Thou, the Formless, under many forms!
The silent, who art heard in many voices!
Through all the pores of Being take my prayer!
Be favourable to this ancient land,
This motherland of Saints and holy men,

This land of hallowed hills and sacred streams,
Of sombre forests and sun-flooded plains,
This glory of the Immemorial East,
Whose dwelling is the splendour of the sun!
Our motherland, our home, our India!

May all her many people lie together
Honouring one another, quietly!
Bring her the peace that Kings cannot bequeath,
The happiness that cometh not by wealth!"

This is the Sadhu's prayer which begins the book.

It ends with a similar votive offering addressed to India, and the poet's love of nature breathes in the words:

"My feet they have been guided through green fields to the sand,
Till now by Ganga's quiet stream in dream I stand,

And veil on veil is lifted until I see less dim
The glory of the spreading wings that overshadow Him."

The last line

" I am satisfied with beauty at the end of the day, "

is however a little weak.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Kalikamangala—Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 81. Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A. With a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E.

Scientific study of the various Indian vernaculars is still in its infancy and learned bodies like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the different Universities are doing commendable work by fostering this study in different ways of which one of the most important is the bringing out of critical editions of old texts. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat has already made its name by the publication of a number of old works of paramount interest from the standpoint not only of old Bengali literature but also vernacular literature of India as a whole.

The latest production of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat is the Kalikamangala of Balarama Kavishekhara. This work of which Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has brought out a critical and up-to-date edition is found to be a rather important contribution to the vast amount of literature pertaining to the romantic and well-known story of the secret love of Vidya, the Princess, and Sundara, the Prince.

The religious tone pervading the work and its freedom from gross vulgarism invariably associated with the literature of Vidya and Sundara—and especially with the work of Bharatachandra, the most important exponent of this literature—marks it out as a very useful and interesting literary production. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and Mr. Chakravarti deserve the hearty congratulations of scholars for bringing to light this little known work which had almost sunk into oblivion. The elaborate and scholarly introduction giving, among other things, a detailed account of Vidya-Sundara literature in different languages; the foot-notes replete with citations from other works on the same topic, drawing attention to the points in which Kavishekhara agrees with or disagrees from them; and the useful indices of important words of linguistic, mythological and geographical interest are some of the main characteristics of the edition, which reflects critical acumen and scholarship of the learned editor.

P. C. C.

English Prose Selections—By Dickinson and Sharma. Pages 228. Published by Macmillan and Co. Limited, London, 1931.

The market at present is flooded with so many books of selections and anthologies intended for Indian students that it is a well-nigh daring attempt to add another to the numbers already existing. But we welcome this new book of selections as the outcome of the authors' experiments made in the educational department, and even as something of an antidote to an increasing number of similar books, many of them crude and grotesque both in conception and execution. And the pity is that our young students are compelled to read them, though almost none of them enable our students in the least to form a correct and coherent idea of the gradual trend of the development and variety of English prose. This want of no slight importance has been removed by the book under review. It is intended primarily for the use of Intermediate students at Indian Universities. We cannot but admire the entirely novel method and principle of the authors in making these selections, based upon that fertility of illustration and cogency of variety of form and colour so very needful in interesting and stimulating young readers. The pieces will, we hope, enable our students to form a thorough and comprehensive idea of the modern development of English prose, so infinitely complex and wide both in its range and variety. The extracts have been made with a definiteness of touch and assurance of purpose. It is impossible, for instance, to read De Quincey's "Wordsworth's Households" without realising, on the one hand, the meditative, analytical, descriptive, and fantastic notes which so strongly characterise De Quincey's rich and imaginative poetical prose, and on the other, those primal qualities of humanity and exquisitely tender homeliness characterising both Wordsworth's life and poetry. Darwin's delightful monograph on "The Tortoise" is an astonishingly fascinating piece,—and it will no doubt present an idea of the influence exerted by Science on the life and thought of the day. Macaulay's "A Portrait of Dr. Johnson" is as striking in showing Macaulay's wonderful power of vitalising the past as in giving an accurate and attractive picture of the greatness and weakness of the forceful personality of Dr. Johnson. The piece "Frost and Thaw" by Mrs. Mitford invites us to pleasant outdoor sports and shows us the romance and beauty lying all around us. Moreover we have got in this book of selections delightful extracts of prose from the descriptive James Hogg, the inquisitive and ever-curious George Borrow, the great traveller, Mungo Park, the homely and ever-tender Mrs. Mitford, the agreeable and versatile man-of-letters, Leigh Hunt, the critical and creative artist Mrs. Gaskell, and also from such great masters of art and science as Ruskin, Adam Smith, Huxley, Hazlitt, Spencer, Priestley, Trelawny, Lord Morley, Froude, Emerson and Jefferies and others. The wonderful piece "Vesuvius" by Shelley illustrates the rich colouring and measured workmanship characteristic of the poet's prose. The extracts range in space from the romantic city of Baghdad to the far-off northern home of the Lapps.

Concise but suggestive notes, mainly of a biographical character, are given at the end of the volume. It is our conviction that this book will prove the best of its kind for Intermediate students for whom it has been compiled and will prepare them for a wider study of the History of English Literature in B.A. classes,

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

Ourselves

THE VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP

The following notice has been received for publication from the Hony. Secretary to the Vincent Massey Scholarship, Lahore :

Mr. Vincent Massey, late Ambassador to England from Canada, by his generosity has created a trust endowing a scholarship for Indian students called the Vincent Massey Scholarship for study for post-graduate work at the University of Toronto. This scholarship is worth two thousand dollars a year and the scholarship-holder is to be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recommendation of a Selection Committee consisting of three persons one of whom is nominated by His Excellency. The next scholarship will be awarded during the next two or three months.

* * *

NEW PH.D.'S

Mr. Rohini Mohan Chaudhuri, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on "The Evolution of Indian Industries."

Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his theses entitled (1) "Platonic Ideas in Spenser" and (2) "Studies in Spenser."

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1932

CONVOCATION ADDRESS[1]

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

We are assured by a certain authority who has the necessary experience in the matter that the value of certain commodities increases continually with their age. Being only a professor of physics and not a professor of gastronomy, I have not the experience with which to assert whether that statement is correct or not. Seeing especially that I have the misfortune to be a confirmed teetotaller and never having succumbed to the attractions of alcohol or nicotine, it is impossible for me to say whether the virtue of certain commodities is or is not an increasing function of age.

Virtue of Age.

I am concerned, however, this evening with the question of the virtue of age in respect of the position of a centre of learning. There is little doubt that around the ceremonials of an ancient seat of learning hangs an aroma, derived perhaps from age. Students of physiology tell us that the effect of age is chiefly to promote fermentation (Laughter) due to the action of certain enzymes. Whether age, therefore, improves the aroma depends entirely upon what the aroma is. It is sometimes possible to mistake a mere mustiness due to age or senility for the aroma of respectability. Let us stop to think what is this aroma of learning that clings round an ancient centre of learning. Let us seek to analyse that aroma and find out its chemical significance. There is little doubt that a centre of learning, a university, acquires as years go on a certain prestige, a certain reputation, which means something of significance to its alumni. But age is not necessarily a sign of wisdom, nor is it necessarily a sign of a capacity for progress. If I am discussing this evening the virtues of age in respect of an individual, I am not sure that I would regard age necessarily as a qualification. When I was younger and had the privilege of delivering convocation addresses at other centres of learning I confess I was somewhat hard upon age and somewhat too enthusiastic about mere youth. But as one grows older, I suppose one can also give oneself credit not merely for an increasing sobriety but also at least for a hypothetical wisdom. And so I would suggest that it is not always true that age necessarily means senility nor that it means ripe wisdom, clarity of judgment, charity of outlook and so on. But whatever signs of decay may accompany age in a particular individual, there is little doubt that by common consent we all recognise that an ancient seat of learning which can count its years not in units, but in two figures or three figures, has an age which is not too much for a university. I must feel proud of being a graduate of a university 500 years old. As time goes on, a centre of learning acquires certain traditions. In the first place, it acquires the memory of great names, it acquires the memory of a succession of gifted scholars who have been its alumni and who have since made good in the world. It acquires also a feeling that it owes a duty to itself, to all those who have been its alumni, to the whole country which looks up to it for leading, for knowledge and for light.

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[1] Delivered by Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., N.L., at the Allahabad University.

I make these remarks because I wish to remind you, my young friends, who have received your degrees to-day that you are the alumni not perhaps of the oldest of the Indian Universities but certainly of one of the oldest. I cannot claim quite to have the same age as the Allahabad University. (Laughter.) You are none the less the alumni of a university which does not count its years in figures which can be counted on the fingers of one's hand. It is a privilege you can look back upon, as you grow older, to have been the inheritors of a tradition of learning.

Tradition of Allahabad University.

The Allahabad University has not merely a tradition of some 40 years to look back upon ; it can also claim to have been the first university founded in these provinces ; it can also claim to have been one of the most progressive of the universities in northern India. It did not hesitate when the time came to accept the call of reform and to transform itself from a federation of colleges, spread over a great area, into a university having a geographically limited location, and having teaching rather than affiliating and examining functions. It is possible that that reform might have been forced upon you, it is possible that it was of your own choice. Whatever may be the situation the reform has been carried out. In one sense you are a young university, and in another you are an old university. You have the virtues both of youth and of age. What is more significant is, as one from outside can say without fear of being charged with prejudice, that the Allahabad University has always realised that it has ideals to maintain. It has acquired an enviable reputation amongst the numerous universities of India to-day. Its alumni have shown themselves in many a walk of life to be quite capable of holding their own with the alumni of the other Indian Universities. I should like very specially, however, to draw attention to the fact that your university has recognised in a very special way the real work of a university, which is to advance knowledge. Your publications, your University studies, the contributions in the various departments of learning, not only of the sciences, but also of the arts, emanating from the Allahabad University are known to every scholar not only in the Indian Universities but also abroad. This tradition, this reputation, is one of which not only the Vice-Chancellor and the members of the university can feel proud of. It is a matter on which you, the alumni of the university, can justifiably congratulate yourselves. After all, the value of the degree which you have received to-day is determined quite as much by the reputation of your Alma Mater as by your own achievement and effort. Let me congratulate those of you who have been the recipients of medals and other degrees this afternoon. I suppose it is one of those advantages which come with growing age that more and more medals have to be awarded by the Vice-Chancellor of the university on a Convocation day. Whether it is all to your advantage I do not know. But it must be very pleasing to some of you, at any rate, to carry away with you recorded in gold and silver some little token of your academic achievement. In later life perhaps it may be given to some of you to receive other tokens of gold and silver of other academic achievements. It is possible that what you have done to-day is only an earnest, an indication of what you will do in later life.

Function of Indian Universities.

Let me turn from these matters to larger questions. What does a university such as yours stand for? I referred a little while ago to conservatism which perhaps is a natural consequence of growing age. A University which is worthy of itself is not necessarily conservative. You must have read just a few days ago that that home of lost causes, Oxford, has at long last relieved the graduates of the burden of passing an examination in scripture. It shows that it is possible even for age to cast aside the chains of conservatism. You surely do not suffer from any conservatism. India to-day is passing through a time of change, a time in which the old is passing away, not slowly but almost with explosive rapidity, and I sometimes think that the function of the universities in India is not to accelerate change but to act as brakes on the too rapid evolution of the national spirit. I am not sure that you will appreciate such a sentiment. You young men to-day stand for change. You are not no-changers (Laughter), you are progressives. Some of us who are getting old may perhaps not be inclined to move quite so quickly as you.

But allow me to remind you that knowledge which is the privilege of a university is not necessarily really the creation of to-day or to-morrow. Knowledge has a tradition which goes back to the beginnings of humanity. Knowledge like time has no beginning and no end. Never shall it be given to write 'finis' at the end of the book of knowledge. That is the nature of knowledge and it is only right that a university which is the guardian of knowledge should be a little conservative. By the very nature of things a treasure-house of knowledge which grows cannot afford to be conservative altogether. A university seeks to reconcile respect for the old with a realization of the value of what the present and the future will bring forth. That truly is the function of a university, to effect a synthesis of the past with the present, and to build rightly for the future. We need universities in India to-day not only as the guardians of knowledge and as the protectors of culture; we need universities in India also to-day as agents for the promotion of social amenities. It has always been my firmest conviction that there is nothing which binds different nations, different communities, different provinces together so closely as the golden chains of knowledge, as a common desire to advance knowledge and to promote culture.

Brink of a Precipice.

You are all aware that to-day India stands on the brink of a precipice which leads rapidly sliding down to the chaos of separatism, of disruption, of communalism, of religious and political conflicts. It seems to me it is the function of the universities in India to-day to introduce saner counsels, to try and make us realize that in the advance of knowledge, in the promotion of culture, we have forces that can remove these causes of disruption, that can make us realize that we are all tó-day the inheritors of a great civilization and transmitters of a great culture. Those who have eyes to see, those who have ears to hear, realize that the universities in India to-day are the one force which stands between chaos and orderly future. Let us remember that, if we are going to have a happy India, a contented India, an India which is proud of herself and is not split up into a hundred warring provinces and communities (Applause), it will be because of the work that universities such as yours, sir, are doing. If we remember that, if we appreciate the fundamental value to India of the work being accomplished in our universities, our administrators will pause to think before they seek to hamper our activities by financial stringencies. (Hear, hear.)

Government and University Budget.

It is forgotten sometimes that only an infinitesimal proportion of the revenue and the wealth of India is spent to-day in the promotion of true culture. We in India in certain respects are still as far back as the 15th century. Some of us have not yet outgrown the ideas, the beliefs, the prejudices of the mediæval ages. Where it is a question of finding money for building temples, for endowing religious institutions, for promoting religious beliefs and communal ideas, money will be forthcoming in large quantities. When it is an idea of promoting true culture, true knowledge and scientific research, money is not to be found. How much of India's money to-day is spent on the promotion of truly secular learning and true knowledge? It would require a chemical analysis to discover the proportion of the rupee which is thus spent on purposes which I would approve of. That is the position. And yet if there is a little difficulty to-day in making both sides of the budget meet, longing eyes are cast on the expenditure on science, on education. Committees are appointed to scrutinize exactly how much money can be saved out of the budget of the Allahabad University. (Laughter and cheers.) Speaking as a mere outsider it struck me as astounding that a suggestion could be seriously put forward that money could be saved on the budget of the Allahabad University.

Price of Ignorance.

If I had the power I would multiply the budget of the Allahabad University by just adding one zero to the last unit of your figure. (Renewed cheers.) Compare the revenue and expenditure of the Allahabad University with the money spent, for example, at Harvard and Yale. Compare with the smallest of the American Universities and you will find a staggering difference. It is astonishing what we in India to-day are doing in the field of learning and knowledge with what little money we have. To think that it is possible to effect true economy by cutting down the university budget, it seems to me, spells disaster to the future of India. Let us remember one thing. At one time, sir, I had the doubtful privilege of being myself an accounts officer. (Laughter.) It was one of my functions to scrutinize carefully the salary and travelling allowance bills of Government officers, to find out exactly how much they were overdrawing, Let me tell you that far more money is being spent to-day on the task of discovering the supposed overdrawals by the Government officers (Laughter) than on the entire budgets of all the universities in India taken together. (Cheers.) More money is being spent to-day on the salaries of Directors of Public Instruction and the salaries of Inspectors of Schools than the payment to all the schoolmasters in India taken together. (Cheers.) You have only to look item by item into the budgets of all the Governments not only of the provinces, but also of the Imperial Government to discover that the true value of entries both on the debit and credit sides goes surely by the rule of contraries. It would be perfectly possible to reverse the balance of the budget, to decrease all items that are swollen and to increase all those that are microscopically small, and yet to maintain a true balance of account which would represent a truer sense of values. We are suffering to-day for the sins of the past. We are to-day paying the penalty for our lack of clear judgment and for our lack of a true sense of values. If we had 50 years ago all the universities in India to-day, if we had 50 years ago a clear realization that the purpose of education, that the purpose of universities is not merely to examine and to award degrees but also to investigate and to advance knowledge, we to-day would have been in a state wholly different from what we are in to-day. To-day we are paying a colossal price, the price of ignorance, the price of apathy. We have to blame ourselves quite as much as others for the situation in which we find ourselves to-day. But it should not be for lack of courage on the part of anyone to say this that no true lover of India, no one who looks forward to ordered progress, to harmony, to absence of communal, political and racial rancour, no one who has the true interests of India at heart can to-day without feeling qualms of hesitation interfere with the progress and activities of our universities. Every rupee cut from the budget will be magnified a millionfold and make the scale weighed towards the side of chaos and disorder. Money spent on the universities to-day is spent on the side of law and order. It is spent on the side of rational progress. It is spent on the side of culture. It is spent on the side of unity, of progress, and not on the side of chaos and disruption, of social catastrophe. If we understand that, if we all clearly realize that, there will be far more friends of universities to-day in official circles than there are at present. That is what I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command.

Way for India's Salvation.

Sir, let me look forward to the future. He would be a bold man who would seek to prophesy. But none the less, sometimes it is desirable to try and lift the veil of mystery that hides the future from our eyes. You, my young friends, I am sure through your hearts surges a feeling of pride and devotion to your motherland. Which of us is not a patriot to-day in India ? But let us ask ourselves what is it that you intend to make of India. I would like to suggest to you, my young friends, that this problem of India's future which interests you and others deeply is one that needs most careful pondering over. We live to-day in an age and in circumstances far different from what we lived in even a hundred years ago. You all remember that Japan in the middle of the last century shut herself round by a wall of isolation. She found herself compelled by the guns of the American Navy to throw aside those walls of isolation and to knock them down, and she was forced to find herself in the stream of modern civilization. What is going to be our attitude towards that civilization ? Shall we regard it merely as something unpleasant, something brutal, forced upon us from outside ? I do not think that that way lies India's salvation for the future. Let us not forget that though India slumbered for 15 centuries, nevertheless there was a time when she was also in the van of human progress, when her sages and her scholars were not bookworms, when they sought by their own effort to understand something of nature, when they dreamed philosophy, when they constructed theories and made observations and invented new materials of progress. India discovered arithmetic and algebra, she made great progress in astronomy, in chemistry, in engineering and many of the practical sciences like medicine and so on. Shall it be said that the slumber of 15 centuries has sent us altogether to the region of complete obscurantism? Shall we not rise from that slumber and show that once again we can assert our age-old spirit and take part in the great advance of knowledge? We may like it or not—we may approve it or not—knowledge and all that it means will continue to advance. I put it to you that it is no use trying to hide yourself away, to screen yourself away from this great flood of light and new knowledge that is coming on to us.

How to achieve the Goal.

We in India seek to find our place in the sun. If we in India wish to be recognised as one of the great nations of the world, we can only do so if we are prepared to pay the price of that achievement. Please let me tell you what I regard the proper price of that achievement. That price is to be prepared to work—it is labour, it is courage, it is dauntless enthusiasm, it is the determination to go through countless efforts, countless hours of toil, countless sacrifices in order to reach the goal. It is upon us, it is upon the spirit with which we face the new conditions about us, that the future of India depends. Do not imagine that mere assertion, that mere hope will achieve what you and I want to achieve. If India is to find her place in the sun, it will be through ceaseless toil, through suffering and sacrifice of her sons. Remember that I am telling these, I am not preaching to you what I did not try. Allow me to assure you that it is our mission to see that India shall no longer be regarded merely as a decrepit old nation which can never rise out of the slumber of the ages. I have laboured for 20 years in the cause of science and if I have done anything to try and obtain recognition for India in the field of science, it is not as a personal effort, it is as an effort on behalf of my and your country; it is an effort, on behalf of the memory of our great forefathers; it is an effort to justify the existence of our people on this earth. If we do not progress, if we cannot hold our own with the foremost nations of the world, it is better that we disappear from the face of this earth. Let us reach the heights or let us go down to damnation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) It is the message that I wish to give you this evening.

APPEARANCES AND REALITIES IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

"It was quite in the fitness of things that scholars and historians of this part of the country should meet to do honour to one of their contemporaries in another part of the country which, though politically isolated from their land, was one geographically." In these words Sir C. V. Raman expressed his feelings, in the course of a speech the distinguished Indian scientist delivered at the Calcutta memorial meeting held recently in honour of the late Goan Chief Justice of Portuguese India.

Goa, once one of the parts of Greater India, included in the Empire of Asoka, is a country where the time-honoured Indian legends evoke periods that suggest a remote antiquity. Her village communities—the relics of the ancient political freedom and cultural autonomy—will excite the keenest interest in those who want to study Goa in her heredity. The village communities continued through the Muslim period; and they remained the first units of Albuquerque's liberal administration.

Among the many names interwoven with the Portuguese history in India, no name perhaps has attained a higher rank for fame than the name of Albuquerque, a subtle statesman whose despatches forwarded to King Manuel, of the sixteenth century, are still with us; and they attest his profound respect for political morality, and his knowledge of political obligations. It is interesting to note that "the Hindus and Muhammadans," when oppressed by the successors of Albuquerque, to quote the *Commentaries* compiled by his natural son, "used to go to Goa to his tomb, and make offerings of flowers and oil for his lamp, praying him to do them justice." The affection the Portuguese entertained for their own municipal institutions,—institutions which gave to ancient Portugal the benefit of their rational liberty and mental enlightenment—and the Cortes, where we can trace the progress of Portuguese liberty—was unfortunately transferred to the tribunal of Inquisition, which stained the Portuguese history and ruined the last hope of Portugal in the East; and with the Spanish domination that soon followed, came the bondage of Portugal under foreign yoke which, according to Portuguese historians, has been only partially undone. From that time Portugal rapidly decayed. Innovation followed upon innovation, until the Marquis de Pombal appeared and was hailed as the expected deliverer. The minister of Joseph the First aimed at the equalisation of all classes by doing away with the distinction between the old and new Christians. The descendants of the converted Indians were given equal rights and considered eligible for civil, military and ecclesiastical offices. The Royal *Alvaras* of April, 1761, and January, 1773, were, however, the gifts of a Portuguese minister who endeavoured to make the King more absolute than ever, for he knew the pusillanimous King in return would maintain him in power. Be that as it may, he was, the century before last, responsible for the establishment of senates, or municipalities, in Portuguese India. Eventually, the subject races were fully admitted to Portuguese citizenship, in which were fused all differences, all inequalities; and Dom Pedro the Fourth, the giver of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, not only outlined a liberal policy, but filled in the details to the extent of appointing a Goan to the important post of Prefect of Portuguese India with full viceregal powers. But since, Republican Portugal has denied the Colonies the right to share as equals in shaping the national destinies. The Republican regimé was to give Portugal and the Colonies a fresh lease of life, and right at the beginning of the Portuguese Republic, Portuguese India was promised colonial autonomy. However, Portuguese India which was directly represented in the Portuguese Parliament, is now heard only through a nominated member of the Colonial Council; and Portuguese India, after twenty years of republican experience, has fully realised that liberty, equality, and fraternity are phrases which cannot make up for the denial of the fundamental principle of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, namely, perfect equality, irrespective of colour, inscribed on the Republican Constitution of 1911.

The recent Colonial Act, decreed by the military Dictators, in power since 1926, undoubtedly created bad blood between Portugal and her Dominions beyond the seas. It broke the unity of the Portuguese nation, proclaimed by the monarchical and republican constitutions. "Certain international currents," said the Portuguese Colonial Minister who drafted the Colonial Act, "tend to establish ideas more or less unfavourable to the traditional dogmas of the colonial sovereignty of the European Powers with the result that imperialist designs have had to be pursued under the cloak of humanitarian motives." We cannot of course, take seriously men, however seriously they may take themselves, who are engaged in building an empire when they ought to have been engaged in purging and preserving Portugal. "The ills besetting mankind arose not from man's neglect to do what is necessary," said a great Chinese philosopher, "but because he does what is unnecessary." Wise words these last.

The Republican assertion of colonial sovereignty has been such that no wonder Portugal is confronted with rivals against whom, in methods and organization, she is ill-matched ; and her colonies are an asylum for the vast tribe of functionaries who devour the colonial revenues,—a state of affairs leading to the flight of thousands of emigrants from Portuguese territories to other lands. There, in a nutshell, we have the present condition of Portugal, to-day, the third colonial power in the world.

The Government of Portuguese India appointed, very recently, an Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, to inquire and report on the economic and moral conditions of Goans in British India, with the view to render them any help they may need. The Emigration Committee's Report was published in the *Boletim Oficial* and a

Portaria issued by the Government of Portuguese India, praised the members of the Emigration Committee for "the intelligence, dedication, and patriotism they have shown," in submitting the Report, over the greater part of which the Portuguese Consul-General had been the presiding deity.

The rather pretentious title "Emigration Commission's Report" may arouse expectations scarcely realised in the scope of the work which on the whole shows signs of being insufficiently thought out.

"It is not possible by reference to the consular records and official statistics of Goa, to prepare an accurate census of the movement of emigration to British India," says the Report. The Emigration Committee, however, "calculates the number of Portuguese citizens living in British India, to be between 55,000 to 60,000." "Besides these 60,000 emigrants of Portuguese nationality," it adds, "there are some who have either naturalised themselves as British subjects, or are the descendants of naturalised parents." It would be interesting to know the exact number of Goan emigrants who have turned British subjects, especially when the Report makes the following statement :—"Emigration has increased during the last few years, chiefly because the emigrants have brought their families with the intention of establishing themselves in British India." But unfortunately, the question of accurate information is not attractive to the average Portuguese bureaucrat who prefers, in his reports, to indulge in rhetoric which may create fresh illusions and disguise the significance of the course of events. "The causes leading to the emigration movement to British India, are partly economic and partly psychological," says the Report. "The economic causes are : the excess of population, difficulties arising from the failure to make proper use of the soil and its products, and absence of industries. In fact the district of Goa with an area of 3,806 square kilometres, has a population of more than 500,000 souls, or say, 132 inhabitants for every square kilometre, which is exactly twice the density of the population of Portugal.” This population scare, engineered with the object of deceiving British India, goes to prove that the authors of the Report, who seem inclined to give us what is little more than a string of facts, had neither the equipment, nor opportunity for really economic inquiry. For if they studied Goa's complex problems, social, economic and political, they would certainly be aware that of all the changes that have come over Goan rural life, none perhaps has been greater than that brought about by the state interference in the village community system, and the consequent decay of village life. The exercise of a constant interference by the unworthy successors of Albuquerque, afforded scant consideration to the communal rights of the people. As a matter of fact, the state interference, eventually delivered the unfortunate peasants into the hands of a rapacious village oligarchy. We should, therefore, have preferred an impartial account of the probable agricultural development under modern conditions, contrasted with the actual results of the efforts of old village folk. The assumption that population in Goa tends to increase more rapidly than subsistence, is all the more intolerable, when it is seen that the growth of knowledge concerning methods of cultivation and transport have enabled mankind to increase subsistence far more rapidly than the average Portuguese bureaucrat could imagine. The authors of the Report believe—on grounds which appear to us quite inconclusive—that "for a district which is essentially agricultural like Goa," the density of the population is exactly twice the density of the population of Portugal, and that "only such countries as are industrially and commercially well developed, can support a dense population." But unfortunately, the movements of Portuguese, and Goan emigration, bring forcibly to the rulers of Portugal, who care to look into the circumstances of national life, the real state of affairs. The fact is that as the local distress becomes acute the vast exodus increases by degrees. It takes a very hard necessity to drag a Portuguese in Portugal, or a Goan in Portuguese India, from the land to which he is passionately attached. He carries with him that love of country and that pride in the past, but least of all does he look forward to returning to his country with his fortune.

Discussing the causes of emigration, the Report attributes it to certain psychological factors, namely "the erroneous notion that agricultural and manual labour is servile, a notion which has its origin in the aristocratic prejudices of Portuguese Society of yore." But strange to say, the Report states:—" One may count in thousands those who are following the non-liberal professions: tailors, musicians, bakers, carpenters, shoemakers, whitewashers, mechanics, compositors, compounders, embroiderers, book-binders, etc." " The most numerous class," it adds, " is that of domestic servants : cooks, waiters, ayahs and others." The "attraction of neighbouring commercial and industrial centres like Bombay, with the glamour of its external life, and its amenities," and " the incentive given by the press of Goa by the publication of personal items making exaggerated references to the social and economic position of some of the emigrants," are also the psychological causes, says the Report. Indeed, one gets the impression that the Goan rather enjoys being abroad. Unfortunately, however, thousands of Goan emigrants occupy, to-day, positions in British India, inconsistent with what they consider in Goa the dignity of the family, but whose devotion to the family would never allow them to starve in their own country. Besides, the emigrants are regarded, as they regard themselves, as wage-earners first, and gentlemen afterwards. Here was a psychological phenomenon for the Emigration Committee to investigate. But instead of examining it the Emigration Committee urges, among other considerations, this: " emigration should be controlled by the Portuguese authorities in Goa."

The Report, however, emphasises that " the Indo-Portuguese Community is intellectually one of the most advanced in British India." " The number of Goans who have gone through the course of secondary and university education is fairly large, and among these there are men well-known for their intellectual culture." "Among those employed in the humbler professions, there is a large number of illiterate persons which, however, does not rise to 10 per cent. (*sic.*) The greater number of our cooks, waiters, and ayahs know how to read and write. The languages generally spoken are English and Konkoni. The Portuguese language is to a great extent not known, or forgotten on account of there being very little opportunity for its use." The Report also assures us that "the moral conditions of our emigrants may be said to be good and even superior to many other communities in British India. Being profoundly religious and educated according to the sound principles of piety and morality, our emigrants are noted for their love of work and devotion to the family."

The aim of the Emigration Committee was, as stated, to enquire into and report on the economic conditions of Goan emigrants in British India. "There is the spectre of unemployment brought about by universal depression in trade and commerce, and by the actual conditions of political life of India. It is not possible to arrive at a precise figure of unemployed ; but it may be approximately fixed at 7,000," says the Report. Evidently the members of the Emigration Committee were never in touch with the labour market. They contemptuously ignored all statistics of supply and demand considered in their industrial and economic aspects. Thus, no attempt was made to solve the important problem of fitting the right people into the right place ; for the Portuguese Government's failure to do this is mainly responsible for Goan unemployment abroad. No table of unemployment percentages has even been made up, or completed on any basis. No wonder the Committee has abstained from any definite formulation of remedies. The Committee's panacea for unemployment ills was : "to restrict emigration, and to secure for the unemployed some kind of work in Goa, in our colonies, and elsewhere."

Happily, the representatives of the Goan masses in Bombay made their voices heard. They saw clearly that the Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, meant for them complete destruction of their constitutional labour activities ; and the *Procuradores* [1] of village residential clubs refused to nominate their representatives on the Emigration Committee appointed by the Goverment of Portuguese India, until the racial classification made by the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay,[2] was withdrawn. As a matter of fact,

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[1] The original founders of the Goan Clubs and their successors subsequently have transplanted in Bombay and elsewhere, the mode of life obtaining in Goa in a manner exciting the admiration of many foreigners. One of these was the late Dr. Thomas Blaney, as any one could gather from an account of the Goan Clubs he had published in the 'Times of India.' He discovered an organised existence ; for each Club was in charge of a *Procurador* a title borrowed from a similar *Procurador* superintending the affairs of every village community in Goa " (*The Indian Daily Mail*, September 10, 1929).

[2] " I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward a copy of correspondence with the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay, on the subject of the mode of describing natives of Portuguese India. It will be seen that the Consul-General took exception to their being described as 'Portuguese' and has accepted the suggestion of the Government of Bombay that those who are pure Indians may be called 'Portuguese Indians,' and that such of them as can establish partial European ancestry should be called 'Indo-Portuguese.' Before issuing general orders on the subject to the officers of the Government of Bombay, I am to request the favour of being informed whether the Government of India approve of the terms proposed." *Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 4538-A, dated the 1st October 1926.*

" Reference your letter No. 4538-A, dated the 1st October, 1926.

The Government of India have no objection to the issue of general orders on the subject as proposed by the Government of Bombay." *Memorandum from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 396-G/26, dated the 26th October, 1926.*

" I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to the correspondence ending with the memorandum from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 396-G 26, dated the 26th October, 1926, conveying approval to the proposal that those natives of Portuguese India who are pure Indians may be called 'Portuguese Indians' and that such of them as can establish partial European ancestry should be called 'Indo-Portuguese.'

" 2. I am now to forward a copy of further correspondence with the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay, from which it will be seen that on a representation made by the Goan Union, the Consul-General now desires that the orders referred to above should be cancelled and that in future all Portuguese citizens irrespective of their race of descent, should be called ' Portuguese '. I am to request the favour of being informed whether the Government of India see any objection to the Consul-General's request being complied in accordance with the resolution passed at their mass meeting, the Procuradores ignored the Sub-committee specially requested by the Emigration Committee to inquire into, and suggest ways and means to improve the conditions of the Goan Clubs. Fortunately, they put the case for emigrants' right to move and act in their own way, in precisely that spirit of solidarity and sympathy that is most becoming in an emigrant in his struggle for existence.

The emigrants, says the Report, "are free from criminal tendencies, though,in some cases, they have come into the clutches of the police, and been dragged into courts which, however, is not to be wondered at, considering the dangerous conditions of a city like Bombay. We are happy to say that these exceptions are becoming rarer and rarer, and that the moral condition of our community to-day is much better in this sense than in former times." But nevertheless, the Emigration Committee raises the question of "repatriation of the vagrants and undesirables of the community." And, by a curious irony of fate, a member of the Emigration Committee has since been deported from Bombay, for being an undesirable alien.

But what of the results of the Emigration Committee's Report? What of the prospects of its success in helping the Goan emigrant? "For the management of the affairs of the Portuguese Community in British India we propose the establishment of local Executive Committees in Bombay, Karachi,

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with." *Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India No. 4538-A, dated the 24th March 1930.*

"With reference to your letter No. 4538—A, dated the 24th March 1931, I am directed to state that the Government of India have no objection to the proposal of the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay that, in future, all Portuguese citizens irrespective of their race or descent, should be called 'Portuguese.'

"2. It is observed from the second paragraph of the Consul-General's letter No. 123, dated the 25th February, 1930, that he apparently recognises the right of the Government of India to differentiate for their own purposes, between the different categories of natives of Portuguese India, and if this right is conceded, the Government of India see no occasion to take any exception to their proposals." *Letter from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. F 120 G 30, dated the 16th May, 1930.*

Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon and other centres," said the Report. The Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, however, soon found that it would have to meet with the opposition of the Goan Union, the premier representative institution of Goans in British India. The Central Council of the Goan Union, having considered the Report, viewed the whole situation from a different angle of vision to that taken by the President of the Emigration Committee, and the Government of Portuguese India; and the fact deserves mention, that the recommendations of the Emigration Committee did not meet with the approval of some of the members of the Emigration Committee, who having supported the resolutions of the Goan Union, repudiated the Emigration Committee's Report.

The present writer who is the President of the Goan Union was, of course, not much perturbed by the Emigration Committee's proposal to establish local Executive Committees presided over by Portuguese Consuls. The Government of Portuguese India had appointed an Emigration Committee under the presidentship of the Consul-General for Portugal. But it was not properly constituted; and the negotiations which the Portuguese Consul-General officially conducted with the Goan Union, had done much to secure Goan co-operation in constituting the new Emigration Committee, and ensuring its smooth working. The existing representative rights of Goan institutions abroad, would, therefore, be maintained, and the maintenance of all Goan representative institutions ought to be the object of the Goan Union to secure.

What future, then, does await Portuguese India? Portugal calls the remnants of an Empire which found itself reckoned in history, as the "Empire of Lost Opportunities," the *Estado da India;* and the Portuguese possessions are allowed to exist under British supremacy in British India. This may be a blunt way of putting it, but after all let us face facts. It is interesting to note that England took possession of Goa, in

1779. Again, in 1804, she threatened her ancient ally, with the occupation of the fortress in Goa; and the Portuguese Government in India protested in vain. But since, the Goan emigrants, with their yearly remittances from British India, where it has been their privilege to live during three quarters of a century, help Portuguese India to disguise its enormous deficit. They cannot, therefore, blind themselves to the fact that Portuguese India has seen a writing on the wall that is not hard to decipher and as we study the Portuguese colonial policy by the light of political events in British India, events that are fast drawing near, the writing on the wall distinctly comes out, and in its character, we see realities and not appearances.

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

KARMA

That night when first I met you,
    Karma, remember the thrill?
When I swore that I'd never forget you,
    'Neath the trees on that sacred Hill;
The air was all heavy with gold from the moon,
The breeze bore the fragments of some happy tune.
O Karma, the thrill of that night, do you miss
The touch of my hands, the warmth of my kiss?

The days are, oh! so dreary
    Now that we are apart,
Nothing is there to cheer me,
    But the sound of your voice in my heart.
Ah! When I meet you, Dear, after a while,
There'll not be a tear in your eye, but a smile!
Only the press of my lips in your hair,
But just for that, only—what would I dare?

That night when first I met you,
    Has left my heart writhing in pain,
At no time do I ever forget you...
    Always longing to see you again!
But when we meet again—no more to part,
The joy of that hour will erase all the smart;
Just as I will be thankful, and still keep in view
The night when Love guided my footsteps to you!

LELAND J. BERRY

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ROUSSEAU

Jean Jacques Rousseau, the spiritual father of the French Revolution, was the deepest expression and the symbolic culmination of a period of social disintegration and moral discords. His literary, philosophical and scientific activity was one of the chief ideological forces which destroyed the French absolute monarchy and the remnants of feudalism, which as a useless court nobility and a dangerous social parasite, extracted the creative forces of the French Nation and liberated them from their trammels and made them the progenitors of one of the severest and extensive political *concubious* recorded in History. As one writer of Rousseau's life correctly says: "Rousseau is the people; he saw the life and society from the side of the disinherited, the feeble, the oppressed, the vagabond and the starving. He saw above the political inequality the social inequality, and he protested not so much against the nobility as against wealth. Equality to him is as precious as liberty, and the great proprietor who makes men poor is, for him, as detestable as the despot who makes men slaves. Social injustice and political injustice sustain themselves mutually."

Rousseau's whole career was coloured by the sufferings of the small bourgeoisie class from which he himself had sprung. He was born in the austere Calvinistic Republic of Geneva, "as the citizen of a free state," as he himself says, and he was the son of a poor watchmaker. But his birth caused the death of his mother and his father was a light-hearted quarreller and vagabond who soon abandoned his child to his own fate. This paternal moral inheritance accompanied Rousseau during his whole life, which was a continuous vagrancy without settled life and without sufficieent intellectual and moral concentration. The result is that he was a confused self-taught man who only slowly and unharmoniously acquired the unity of intellectual vision. From his earliest childhood, the necessity of earning a livelihood drove him from one occupation to another; but he was, one might say, biologically unfit for any regular profession, because anything that demanded continuous activity and application weighed upon him in a most oppressive manner. He was a clerk to an attorney who regarded him as a helpless fellow, then a pupil to an engraver, later a servant, a lackey, a teacher of music, a poet, a composer, a novelist, the secretary to the French Ambassador at Venice, and in the period of his fame, the much sought guest of many aristocratic houses. He was very often on the verge of famine and thoughts of suicide were not alien to him.

This unstable career, without education, without direction, without the loving care of a parental home, reflected itself in his moral nature, which was an astonishing mixture of the lightest qualities of human sympathy, pity and magnanimity, and of traits of moral inferiority very often touching the pathological. He spent the earlier part of his life in sexual promiscuity; he committed a theft in a house where he was teacher; he became the lover of an elderly lady and as a result was compelled to undergo many humiliations. He was converted by his sweetheart to Catholicism but later turned to Protestantism. He put his five illegitimate children into an orphanage. He was very often ungrateful towards his best friends and almost all of his relatives were disturbed by his distrustful, unsocial and suspicious nature.

Certainly, unless we consider his nervous pathology we cannot understand many aspects of his contradictory character. There was something infantile about him during his whole life and his nervous, irritable, anarchical temperament grew later into a veritable mania of persecution. The antagonism between his romantic love of a simple, unartificial and unsophisticated life and his connection with the frivolous, luxurious life of the upper ten thousand, accentuated even more the cleavage in his moral personality. But in his riper manhood, the noble and idealistic features of his character gained more and more preponderance. He realized perfectly the moral danger of his situation. He himself said that his life vacillated between Achilles and Thersites, between a hero and good-for-nothing; but in spite of his various inconsistencies and the various struggles that went on between his higher and lower selves, he succeeded in remaining true to the higher inspirations of his own soul. When a man of forty he underwent a serious moral crisis which threw him into despair ; he sought poverty and solitude, he found a great Platonic love; the remorse of conscience persecuted him and he tried to find his abandoned children.

His social and moral disharmony was farther envenomed by his political persecutions after his works on social and political questions had made him famous. He fled from France to Switzerland and again from Switzerland to France. His native city, the liberty and simplicity of which he admired and extolled so much, burned his books. Another cause of his despair, which intensified his persecution complex was the enmity and hostility of his great contemporary and rival, Voltaire, who must really be held to have contributed much to make his life disagreeable. When, in 1766, he accepted the invitation of Hume and went to England to enjoy the hospitality of the official and aristocratic circles in that country, it was not only the tactlessness of his life that compelled him to abandon those islands, which gave him the promise of a new and undisturbed home, but also Voltaire, who in an anonymous pamphlet compiled many citations of Rousseau against Englishmen. In the last period of his life his taste for calmness and solitude became even more pronounced ; music and botany were his chief consolations amid the stormy sea of his passions. He died while he was a guest in the chateau of the Marquis de Girandin and the prevailing opinion of the time was convinced that he was the victim of his suicide complex, which haunted him throughout life. But when his body was transported to the Pantheon in Paris, a medical examination demonstrated that this assumption was unfounded, though there can be no doubt that so much worry and despair contributed to hasten his end.

The turning point of his life was in 1750, when he gained the award of the Academy of Dijon in answering the question: whether the arts or the sciences contributed to the corruption or the ennoblement of manners. Rousseau answered the question unfavourably to the arts ; but there is a curious story about the origin of his conviction, which shows how irritable, impressionable and eager for popular sensation the great prophet was. According to Marmontel, Rousseau talked about his plan to Diderot, the great encyclopedist, and when the latter heard that his colleague intended to give an answer in favour of the arts and the sciences, he admonished him not to adopt the trite plan of mediocre writers, but rather to follow the dictates of his own original thinking and to follow the daring way of accusing intellectual culture of the corruption of society. Rousseau could not resist the suggestion. He won the prize; his name became famous and he turned from poetry and music to the more arduous task of political and social philosophy. In 1755, he wrote his famous discourse on the "Origin and Basis of Inequality among Men," unfavourably received by the same Academy. Three years later he published an important article in the Encyclopedia of Political Economy and in 1762, his famous "Social Contract," which was politically prepared in his brilliant essay on education, Emile, was first published in its full form.

He had originally intended to write a whole system of social philosophy, but manifestly such a systematic task was irreconcilable with his character and temperament and impossible of accomplishment. His social, philosophical and political, outlook was at first influenced by Montesquieu, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, especially by Holback, D'Alembert and Diderot, but soon he abandoned the rather constitutional and materialistic orientation of this group and turned his whole attention to an investigation of the problem of the moral aspects of social inequality and misery. He was surely nearer to Pufendorf and to Locke than to his own friends and contemporaries, but the state of Nature, with its simple, independent and happy savages—a half-historical and half-romantic and sentimental vision—became, one may say, the central myth of his speculation. Many of his contemporaries, and later antagonists, ridiculed him on this account and distorted his thought, pretending that Rousseau wished to demolish European culture and lead humanity back to its original state of barbaric anarchism. In this sense Voltaire wrote satirically to him concerning his advocacy of the natural state. "If you are in any event determined to graze, come and do it on my property." But the real thought of Rousseau was not so much an anachronistic or an anarchic idea, but rather the reintroduction into the modern state of that principle of moral purity and simplicity which he believed to have been characteristic of the primitive life.

His whole social and political philosophy is centred in the task of giving a sound constitutional basis to a popular sovereignty which alone could lead society toward the common weal. His famous theory of the *General will* opposed to the *will of all* is a very profound and suggestive, though not sufficiently elaborated, attempt at finding out the fundamental principles of all free and reasonable human co-operation among potentially equal men. In our own day, when the general interest of society is ridiculed as a kind of class hypocrisy, the sharp distinction of Rousseau between the General will and majority will and his categorical assertion that sovereignty cannot be transmitted, not even in the form. of a representative legislative body, and that the people must directly pronounce its will on all important questions has a great and profound interest for the present generation both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. Our present political atmosphere is saturated with devising of plans for a functional and economic representation, which without a careful revision of the general public interest cannot be solved in a satisfactory way. Similarly, all endeavours to extend direct legislation by the whole body of citizens in the form of Referendum, Veto or Popular

Initiative and those which aim at a decentralization of the state towards new forms of economic co-operation, cultural self-determination and administrative regionalism, will have an important theoretical background in the social philosophy of the citizen of Geneva.

On the other hand, the political analysis of Jean Jacques Rousseau is in many respects unsatisfactory not only from the point of view of our more complicated capitalistic society but also from the point of view of his own epoch. Though he realized perfectly the dangers of class rule and party politics, though he clearly perceived that the tendency towards the mass democracies of the cities must destroy the real essence of the general will, though he clearly understood the very essence of class struggle and exploitation, his system does not give us sufficient information and direction as to how these dangers can be avoided. At the same time he was scarcely aware of the fact that the unrestricted power of the general will, which he intended even to further and corroborate by a very rigid kind of civic religion sustained if necessary by capital punishment, could mean a new absolutism scarcely less formidable than that of the former kingdoms and oligarchies : the absolutism of the Demos. Under these conditions, his conception of the general will, the central point of his system, remains somewhat obscure and it is no wonder that he regards a good constitution rather as an ideal than as a political reality, almost as a mystical act of divine enlightenment. It was in this connection that he made the famous prophecy, relative to the Corsicans, that some day this little island will rule Europe. Napolean Bonaparte indeed was born less than ten years after this singular prediction was made, but one may wonder whether the great admirer of the antique city states and of the Swiss city republics would have acknowledged the mission of the Corsican superman as the appropriate realisation of his philosophical conceptions.

The contribution of Rousseau to political and social philosophy and theory is far greater than his very important analyses and suggestions concerning the constitutional side of the problem. One of the chief merits of Rousseau consists in the fact that he realized more keenly than any of his predecessors the importance of the economic and social problems underlying the constitutional, what he called inequality and servitude. The question has often been hotly debated whether the man who so fiercely denounced the corrupting influence of wealth and the anti-democratic tendencies of a purely hedonistic civilization should be regarded as a socialist. Certainly if we regard socialism as a system of collective property and communistic production, the great Genevese would scarcely qualify, for he is wholly opposed to such a system. But if we accept as the criterion of socialism the endeavour towards social justice, towards the elimination of all kinds of corruption and unrequited remuneration, then the whole philosophy of Rousseau may be regarded as the emanation of a genuine socialism. In this connection it may be noted that it was a profound transformation that came over Rousseau which was responsible for his idealizing and worshipping the omnipotence of society,—society, which in his earlier days he was wont to vilify, treat with contempt and keep himself entirely aloof from. But the society that he set before himself was an ideal and harmoniously evolved entity of equally endowed human beings whereas the society that he set himself against was a society honeycombed with inequalities and punctuated by the virus of oppression of one section by another. From the point of view of his socialistic ideas, he may also be regarded as one of the predecessors of Henry George and land reform, for he regarded land as the common property of society as a whole and therefore would restrict private property in land to an area just sufficient for personal cultivation by its owner.

The importance of Rousseau is not less great in the realm of private and social ethics. He emphasized with an uncommon strength, vigour and sincere pathos, the force of which still impresses the reader, a series of elementary moral relations without the aid of which no higher kind of social co-operation will ever be realized. Man is free, all men are equal, no man is justified in employing others for the realization of his own happiness without himself serving equally with others, the state is of all and for all, these and similar truths are emphasised by the great moralist not in a trite or preaching manner but with the illumination of an intuitive genius. With him the whole social and political philosophy of France took a radical turn. The finer administrative reforms of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists no longer sufficed for Rousseau. His conviction was rather that only an entire and radical metamorphosis in human nature could lead to a veritable remoulding of the old state. In this respect he was very near the Bolsheviks of our own day, for he would have employed a compulsory system of education for the realization of this supreme purpose. From this point of view his interest in education is distinctly social and his paradoxical but highly suggestive Emile was only an introduction to his social philosophy.

In general it may be said that the influence of Rousseau on his period and on later times was greater than that of any other man since the Reformation, and among his successors to fame only Karl Marx can rival him. We are even justified in saying that the influence of the apostle of the French Revolution was more extended from one point of view than that of the recent Russian Revolution, because it captured, not a single economic mass interest, but, in morals and education, all the strata of thinking mankind. "All the dissatisfied, all the sufferers, recognize themselves in his hates and sufferings." At the same time his many-sided, complex, contradictory nature combined with poetic imagination and rhetorical exuberance, with super-natural metaphysical cravings, satisfied the most divergent social and philosophical appetites and his influence became preponderant in the most antagonistic camps. In this manner his social system led at one and the same time to the Jacobin Republic and to the Catholic Restoration, to the sentimental philosophy of Jacobi and Maine de Biran and to the romanticism of Chateaubriand. Simultaneously many theses of his thoughts have become important elements in our present-day socialist conception in all schools which are animated more by justice than by economic class interest.

Rousseau's outstanding contributions to political theory are twofold, though there are many directions in which he has made himself famous as has been pointed out above. He first brought order out of chaos, in the world of thought on politics by freeing the theory relating to the concept of an original compact from all its encumbrances and excrescences and converting it into a political principle of practical value and interest. He rescued it from being dragged along into different ramifications into which it was allowed to stray in the hands of writers like Hobbes and James I and gave it an interpretation and an orientation quite in consonance with the best and the most acceptable thought on the subject, before or after. According to him, the social contract, if ever there was one, between the individuals composing the state to form the state and to live an organized life is intended to secure the sovereignty of the whole community and as a means of harmonizing that sovereignty with the full liberty of the individual to realize himself. The general accusation brought against him that in securing civil liberty through an organized state, Rousseau has sacrificed the individual, is, considered in the light of this observation, unfounded, since it is impossible to allow unrestrained liberty to every individual, in which case anarchy will ensue and civil liberty will disappear. Secondly, his theory of general will though scarcely attainable in his time has always been the *beau ideal* of democratic political thinkers and in the modern attempts at resuscitating democracy and making it a live institution, at enabling the people as a whole, as opposed to a section thereof, to take an intelligent and practical interest in political affairs, at securing opportunities to the community to convert itself from the potential political sovereign into the actual *de facto* sovereign, it occupies a high place as being a source of inspiration and strength.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that in spite of his revolutionary principles which he followed out with such consistent vigour, he had been admired and praised not only by his own countrymen who caught their revolutionary inspiration from his writings but also by foreigners. Robespierre who visited him in his seclusion said to him--and his words were a vivid expression of the general sentiment of his epoch : "You divine one, you taught me to understand in my years of youth, you led me to appreciate the dignity of nature and to meditate on the principle of moral order." Lessing called him the "daring, worldly wise." Kant, the great passionless critic, regarded him as one of the noblest idealists, and the influence of the citizen of Geneva may be traced on every page of his political and social speculation. Nor did the sage of Konnigsberg ever conceal his indebtedness to the philosopher of the Ermitage. He used to say : "Rousseau set me in the right direction" and he considered the French Revolution the outcome of the speculation of his master, as the strongest evidence of an evolving humanity. The second half of the 19th century and our own period with their rather conservative, anti-democratic and dictatorial tendencies and emanations have come to regard his achievements coldly and sceptically. Bluntschli sees in him little more than a dilettante, a speculative dreamer, and the judgment of Dunning is not more favourable. But more recently critics are again coming to recognize the great philosophical power and the deep moral intuition of Rousseau's genius. Thus Rudolf Stammler calls him one of the keenest thinkers in jural philosophy. That this more kindly and sympathetic appreciation will be accepted in the future estimate of Rousseau may confidently be expected since the materialistic conception of society now so generally prevalent has clearly and emphatically demonstrated that all political speculation and practical efforts without a moral basis and a spiritual compass must ever be barren and incapable of establishing a higher type of social co-operation.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

MAHĀVĪRA, THE MAN

It has to be admitted that the life and personality of Mahāvīra has not received that attention from students of Jainism, as Buddha has received from Pali scholars. It is true no doubt that compared with the information available on Buddha, the material is very meagre for a study of Mahāvīra as a man; the Jaina Āgamas yield but a negligible fraction of what the Buddhists have recorded in the discourses of the Sutta Piṭaka, in the interesting history of the rules of Vinaya, and in the stories so full of living human interest in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. It seems to have never occurred to the Jainas to attempt any connected narrative of the life of the Master approaching the Mahāvagga account of Buddha's life from the obtainment of Enlightenment to the admission of Sāriputta and Moggallāna into the Order or the synopsis of events of Buddha's last days as in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; the chapter entitled *Jinacarita* in the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu is after all a poor substitute on the life of Mahāvīra, compared with these. Mahāvīra was by no means less famous nor did he have lesser following than Buddha in their age. It is desirable therefore that the personality of Mahāvīra should be studied and with that end in view I have attempted to present here all that I have been able to collect from the Canonical Literature of the Jainas as well as from Pali sources having a bearing on the life of Mahāvīra or which give us glimpses into his personal characteristics.

From extracts such as *Ācārāṅga* I. viii. 1-4 and II. 15, *Kalpasūtra*, *Jinacarita* ii-v, *Bhagavatī*, p. 661 (Āgamodaya Samiti) and *Samavāyāṅga* 30 and 42, we learn the following concerning the Master's life.

Mahāvīra was born about the middle of the sixth century B.C.[1] in Kuṇḍagrāma, a village in the suburbs of the city of Vaiśāli. He was the second son of Siddhārtha, a Kṣatriya chief of the *Jñātṛ* clan, by his wife Triśalā. His mother was related to the royal house of Magadha. His father was a lay disciple of Pārśva. His parents gave him the name of Vardhamāna because their wealth and prosperity increased since Triśalā conceived. Later in life his disciples called him Mahāvīra "because he stands fast in the midst of dangers and fears, patiently bears hardships and calamities, adheres to the chosen rules of penance, is wise, indifferent to pleasure and pain, rich in control and gifted with fortitude." He was also designated as Vīra, Jina, Kevalin, Buddha, Suhastin, etc., to denote his excellence and eminence.[1]

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[1] The Śvetāmbara tradition as recorded by Hemacandra in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* places the date of Mahāvīra's death in 527 B.C.; the Digambaras place it eighteen years later; Jacobi puts it in 480-76 B.C. and Hoernle in 480 B.C., but Charpentier prefers 468 B.C.

He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra*; the Buddhists confused this with the *gotra* of Indrabhūti Gautama, his chief disciple. To his contemporaries he was generally known as Nirgrantha Jñātṛputra. "He was born in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark fortnight of Caitra on its fourteenth day, in the middle of the night while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni." The Svetāmbaras have recorded a legend of the transference of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to that of the Kṣatriyānī Triśalā. Jacobi thinks that the legend means that Mahāvīra was born of a Brahman wife of Siddhārtha. It may also be that the legend is a pure invention on the part of later stalwarts to give the Master a miraculous and the highest birth according to the notions of a later age. The Digambaras know nothing of the legend and stoutly deny it. Before the birth of Mahāvīra his mother Triśalā saw a series of dreams which the interpreters said meant the coming of a great king or religious teacher—an episode never missed in the accounts of the birth of prominent future converts, in the literature of the

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[1] The tenth *Prakīrṇa* called *Vīrastava* contains all his names. Buddha in his talk with Upaka, the Naked ascetic whom he met on the road from Uruvela to Gaya after the Enlightenment, also claimed to be a Jina; for Buddha's epithet of "Elephant" see *Cullavagga*, VII. 3. 12.

Jainas. Little has been recorded of his boyhood or early youth—we are not told whether he learnt the "seventy-two arts"; possibly he did, for there is no reason why he should not be given the advantages of a prince's education. But we are told that "he was a clever man and had the aspirations of a clever man."

He was married, and had a daughter and a grand-daughter. The Digambaras deny that he ever married. It is improbable, one should think, that in those days one born of a noble and well-to-do family should remain unmarried up to his thirtieth year, as was Mahāvīra's age at the time he renounced the world. The Digambaras' denial seems to be the outcome of their desire to look upon the great ascetic as a life-long celibate, for the Digambaras have always shown a preference for stricter asceticism. It is easy to imagine that a man who became a Jina later in life was not worldly-minded in his early youth. Another legend of the Svetāmbaras say that before his birth the embryo decided not to move in his mother's womb lest it would cause pain to the mother and that when it subsequently did move, it was for the purpose of reassuring the mother who had imagined the embryo to be dead and worried over it. The embryo also decided, we are told, that he would not renounce the world till after his mother died in order that she might be spared the grief of separation from her son.[1] The legend suggests to me a significant explanation; it probably arose out of an actual incident in the early life of Mahāvīra. As a grown-up man he must have shown a leaning towards ascetic life and expressed a desire to renounce the world. The mother, naturally enough, grieved and cried over it and succeeded in drawing a promise from her resolute son not to execute his intentions till she was dead. We have a corroboration of this hypothesis in almost every one of the large number of stories in the texts of the conversion of princes wherein the mother is always represented as remonstrating with her son and trying to obtain from him a similar promise. It is further supported by the fact that his renunciation took place immediately after the death of his parents, and the statement in the texts that at the time of Mahāvīra's renunciation "his people raised no objection " raises the presumption that there had previously been some objection from some quarter. We are also entitled to infer that owing to his strong ascetical tastes he might have been averse to marriage in his early youth and which his parents carried through in spite of his lukewarm attitude which the Digambaras developed into life-long celibacy and total denial of marriage.

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[1] *Kalpasūtra*, IV.

When Mahāvīra was thirty years of age his parents died and with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana he gave away his belongings in charity and renounced the world. He descended from the palanquin that carried him under an *aśoka* tree, discarded his ornaments, plucked out his hair, fasted for two and a half days, drank no water, put on only a robe and entered the life of an ascetic. Remembering that his parents were lay disciples of the Order of Pārśva, we may infer that it was as an ascetical member of the same Order that he began his novitiate. He wore clothes for a year and a month after which he adopted nudity and stuck to it throughout the rest of his life. He practised penances for twelve years after which he succeeded in obtaining kevala or omniscient knowledge, the goal of his efforts. He was therefore forty-two years of age when he became a kevalin and for about thirty years from that time he carried on his mission as a preacher and teacher. He died at the age of seventy-two in Pāvā. This news was conveyed to Buddha as we learn from *Majjhima Nikāya, Sāmagāma Sutta.*

A few details are available of his life during the period of twelve years that he spent in his preparation for his mission. He went about naked and did not possess even a bowl for collecting alms which he accepted in the hollow of his hands. He neglected his body and abandoned care of it and patiently put up with all sorts of pleasant and unpleasant occurrences. Except in the rainy season he lived all the eight months of summer and winter, in villages only a single night, in towns only five nights. Many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it, and caused pain there. People were shocked at the sight of him, they struck and shouted at him. He avoided women and householders and gave no answer to questions asked, nor returned salutes. He was beaten with sticks by some people. He paid no attention to story-tellers and other diversions. He used no cold water for two years and found that if closely inspected earth, water, fire, air, lichens, seeds, and sprouts exhibited signs of being imbued with life and he avoided injuring them. He found that immovable beings are changed to movable ones, and movable beings to immovable ones; beings which are born in all states become individually sinners by their actions, and whatever was under the conditions of existence suffered pain.

He did not use another's robe or eat out of another's vessel. He did not rub his eyes or scratch his body. He sometimes lodged in travellers' halls, workshops, assembling places, wells, shops, straw-sheds, suburban houses, burial grounds, deserted houses, or at the foot of a tree. He slept only a little and that not for pleasure. He went outside for once in a night and walked about for an hour; in his dwelling-places he was troubled by vermin and bad people, the village-guard and lance-bearers attacked him, single women or men tempted him. In the resting place one night people asked him who he was and what he wanted there, as he did not answer they treated him badly but he persevered in his meditations. Sometimes to avoid greater troubles when asked "Who is there within?" he answered, "It is I, a mendicant." He took no protection against cold or rain. He travelled in the pathless country of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi and in Subbhabhūmi, and in those places he used miserable beds and seats. In Lāḍha many natives attacked him; even in the less hostile parts of the country the inhabitants set dogs upon him crying "chucchu." Other mendicants used staves too keep off the dogs but he did not. The peasants abused him; villagers attacked him and asked him to get away, and struck and ill-treated him. When he once sat without moving his body, they cut his flesh, tore his hair, covered him with dust, threw him up and let him fall, and disturbed him in his religious postures. He bore all this calmly without protest and never retaliated. Inspite of his privations and sufferings he never fell ill or when wounded never applied medicines. In summer he exposed himself to the heat, sat squatting in the sun, and in winter he meditated in the shade. He lived on rice, pounded jujube or beans,—thrown away, or given as alms by others. Sometimes he did not drink for days together, fasted also for days, and practised various other severe austerities.

What a contrast with the probationary period of Buddha, the other great ex-prince mendicant of that age! For his noble birth, graceful mien and gentle manners the prince of Kapilavastu was welcomed by the teachers Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta and their pupils, he created an agreeable surprise amongst the citizens of Rajagṛha, and attracted the attention even of King Bimbisāra. Mahāvīra's troubles were partly due to the ungainly sight of his nude, dirty, unkempt, and dishevelled figure ; his sombre silence and apparently grim determination further aggravated the trouble by arousing at first sight the hostility of on-lookers.

For sometime during these twelve years Mahāvīra lived together with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the Ājīvika teacher. The Jaina texts regard Gosāla as an ex-disciple of Mahāvīra which however is an exaggeration. As a matter of fact they were both associates in a common concern.[1] Later on there sprang up acute difference of opinion between the two and they fell foul of each other culminating in their separation. The earlier compact was entered into, possibly the initiative coming from Mahāvīra, with a view to amalgamate the two Orders of the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas, but the attempt as we find proved abortive.

In the thirteenth year of his asceticism when he was about forty-three years of age Mahāvīra obtained the fruits of his labours. It occurred in the second month of summer, outside the village Jimbhayaggāma, on the north bank of the river Ṛjupālikā. Mahāvīra was seated at the time in the field of a householder, in a squatting position with joined heels, the knees high and the head low, exposed to the fierce heat of the sun, and in deep meditation. He had been for long reflecting on the soul, non-soul, suffering, its causes and remedy. When he obtained *kevala* or true and perfect knowledge that he was seeking, the whole world of gods, men, animals and demons became plain to him. It has been questioned whether Mahāvīra made any strikingly new discovery when he claimed that omniscient knowledge had been revealed to him. It has also been suggested that what he obtained amounted only to gaining personal knowledge of what he already knew in theory, that he only reached the end of a road that was already laid out in plans before him. A new discovery is a relative term—a thing is new in substance although not in fact, if it is viewed in a new light or if it is new in part. Mahāvīra knew that he had to reach a goal but the full meaning and content of this goal he did not know till he had gained personal knowledge of it. By knowing a thing personally, we know so much more of it than before that it would be no exaggeration to say that it is something new that has been obtained—new both to the finder as well as to those who are made acquainted with it.

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[1] I have fully dealt with the controversy on this point in my *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 7 *ff*.

From now, for the last thirty years of his life Mahāvīra was an ascetical preacher and the head of his Order of mendicants. He constantly moved from place to place accompanied by his disciples, both male and female. When he reached a town, he stopped outside, and people came out to see and hear him. Rich and poor, prince and peasant, merchants and householders went to him—he was open to all alike. The congregations consisted of "Aryan and non-Aryan."[1] Everyone was received with the same dignity and welcome. He answered all questioners with the same brevity and directness,

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[1] *Aupapātika*, 34,

Members of other sects and Brahmans came to ask questions of him or to hold discussions with him ; of these only such as have a direct bearing on his own doctrines have been preserved. It would undoubtedly have been more interesting and useful if more of such discussions with members of other sects were preserved ; but they are lost. The Fourteen Pūrvas which contained these discussions were compressed into the Dṛṣṭivāda which formed the twelfth book, now lost, of the *Aṅgas.*

When a member of the congregation had to ask a question of Mahāvīra or say something to him, such person would go up to him, circumambulated him from the right, and after salutations made his statement in becoming language. Wealthy visitors used to take off their ornaments and jewels before coming into his presence as a mark of respect when they came to him for special instruction or for admission into the Order. Kṣatriyas left their arms behind on such occasions. The correct mode of dress was to clothe oneself with one piece only, *i.e.*, to wrap the folds of the *dhoti* around the upper part of the body. We do not read of the lay disciples of Buddha observing any particular mode of dress before their Master although the ascetical members of the Order observed the etiquette of keeping one shoulder uncovered. The Licchavis, to mention only one instance, whom he compared with the Tāvatiṁsa gods, certainly appeared before Buddha in all their fineries and finished toilet.[1] It was out of deference for his nudity perhaps, that Mahāvīra's visitors clothed themselves scantily. If anyone came to seek admission into the Order, either as an ascetic or a lay adherent, permission for such was readily given. To lay members, the Five Lesser Vows were administered, and in the case of those who were prepared to renounce the world, the tonsure was given or the candidate himself tore off his hair " in five handfuls "—always an act of high merit—discarded all clothing, became nude, and lived practising austerities and the rules on study, meditation, begging, movements, etc., for novices. The ascetics either dwelt by themselves under an instructor or accompanied the Master in his peripatetic mission. Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, inspite of his great leaning towards Buddha, did not altogether neglect Mahāvīra. Bimbisāra's son Ajātaśatru was more devoted to Buddha's rivals; he is eulogised in Jaina stories as a great patron of the Nirgranthas.

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[1] *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* II, 20.

The disciples of Mahāvīra, more particularly Gautama, the favourite disciple, frequently asked questions of him, some of which would seem to be meaningless or even foolish at the present time, and the Master never tired of answering them. If permission was asked of him for any purpose, *e.g.*, undertaking special austerities or going on a journey, by a disciple Mahāvīra gave his assent: but on two occasions we find an exception to this ready assent on his part. In the first case Gosāla is reported to have asked for permission to be enrolled as a disciple and was thrice refused and was finally admitted on his repeating the request for the fourth time.[1] In the second case, Jamāli, a disciple who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and had also married Mahāvīra's daughter, begged permission to go wandering with a large number of ascetics but Mahāvīra gave no reply even after being asked three times.[2] It is to be noted that the consequence in both of these cases was far from happy, for, Gosāla had to separate ultimately from Mahāvīra and Jamāli became the founder of the first schism. The texts of course say that owing to his omniscience, Mahāvīra knew from before that these untoward results would follow and therefore withheld permission. We may reasonably infer from these that disagreement and causes of friction between the Master and these disciples had begun long before the final rupture took place.

In the recorded dialogues of Mahāvīra he is mostly seen affirming or negativing some questions asked or detailing divisions and classifications of various matters on which information was sought. Sometimes again, he would affirm both the alternatives of a question which would puzzle the questioner whereupon Mahāvīra would enter into a wider explanation of the matter. The acute analytical genius of Mahāvīra comes out very prominently in all these scraps of conversation. He had the intellectual gift of close and minute observation of details which are so marked a feature of the philosophical system of the Jainas. Many of his directions to his disciples were no doubt the result of his own experiences as a man of the world and as a wandering ascetic, of the ways of men and women, temptations, and of life in general. His biological theories and classifications he owed very probably to his observations in solitary and out-of-the-way places teeming with minute forms of vegetable and animal life, and the same thing may be said with regard to his views on the mutability of movable and immovable objects. The extensive manifestations of the living principle that he observed all around him during his lonely wanderings in unfrequented places had possibly the effect of his widening the scope of life to include objects commonly regarded as lifeless but which appeared on close examination to exhibit such symptoms of life as decay, growth, movement, etc.

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[1] *Bhag.* 15. 541.

[2] *Bhag.* 9. 33, 383-87; *Sthānāṅga*, 7:3,587.

Out of the many long and somewhat wearying divisions and sub-divisions of various subjects which the Canon assiduously parades as forming the bulk of Mahāvīra's dialogues, the following two may be selected in illustration of the art he used in convincing others:

Gautama, the favourite disciple, asked: "Sir, is the soul eternal, or the world?"

"The soul and the world are both eternal."

"How is it, Sir, that the soul and the world are both eternal?"

"Gautama, where does an egg come from?"

"It comes, Sir, from the hen."

" Where does the hen come from? "

" It comes from the egg. "

" Did the egg come before the hen, or the hen before the egg? "

"Sir, they are both eternal."

" Likewise, Gautama, the soul and the world are both eternal."[1]

A potter, Saddālaputta by name, was a follower of the Ājīvikas and consequently did not believe in exertion or manly strength as shaping human destiny. He was once bringing out his ware from within his shop and was putting them in the sun when Mahāvīra asked him how his ware was made. Saddālaputta replied that it was made by mixing clay with water, ashes, etc., and then placing it on the wheel. Mahāvīra asked if it was made with or without exertion, and the answer of course was that it was without, for there is no such thing as exertion, etc. What would he do if any of his servants were to steal or break his ware, or to seduce his wife—was Mahāvīra's next question to which the answer was that such servants would be punished or put to death. Mahāvīra then pointed out that if there was no such thing as exertion, etc., then the servants were not responsible for their action; and that if " everything is unalterably fixed ". as the Ājīvikas held, then Saddālaputta would not be justified in taking any action against his servants.[2] Saddālaputta, we are told, was convinced in this way that the Ājīvika doctrine was false and he became a disciple of Mahāvīra.

Sometimes a parable was used. In order to bring home to the disciples the supremacy of the Nirgrantha ascetic over others, Mahāvīra told them the story of a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful and conspicuous, and in the middle of which there grew one big white lotus. Now, there came four men, one from each quarter, who prided themselves of their abilities and attempted to fetch the big lotus in the middle. To each of them, the more he proceeded the more the water and the mud seemed to extend; they had left the shore but could not reach the big lotus or any of the banks and got stuck in the mud. Then came a restrained monk living on low food—*i.e.*, a Nirgrantha monk—who did not enter the pool but standing on the bank he called out 'Fly up, O White Lotus' and it flew up to him. "I have told you, O long-lived śramaṇas, a parable and you must comprehend the meaning of it," said Mahāvīra. The monks and the nuns replied that they did not comprehend the meaning of it. "Ah, long-lived śramaṇas," said Mahāvīra, "I shall explain to you with its reasons—meaning the world I spoke of the lotus-pool, meaning karma I spoke of the water, meaning pleasures and amusements I spoke of the mud, meaning people in general I spoke of the many lotuses, meaning the king I spoke of the big lotus in the middle, meaning heretical teachers I spoke of the four men, meaning the Law (*i.e.*, the Doctrine of the Nirgranthas) I spoke of the monk, meaning the Order (*i.e.*, the Nirgrantha Order) I spoke of the bank, meaning the preaching of the Law I spoke of the monk's voice, meaning nirvāṇa I spoke of the lotus flying up—meaning these things, O long-lived śramaṇas, I told the simile." Then he went on to explain how there were many kinds of men in the world, some rich, some poor, some noble, some humble, of whom one was the king, whom different teachers wished to convert but all except the Nirgrantha monk failed in their efforts.[1]

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[1] *Bhag.* 1.6.52.

[2] *Upāsakadaśa* VII. 195-200.

Here is one of Mahāvīra's exhortations to his disciples—"Surely, venerable companions, if those servants of the śramaṇa who are householders living in the midst of householders refute the theories of heretic people, then much more, venerable companions, must the Nirgrantha ascetics be able to refute such theories by means of theses, argument, questions, proofs, and explanations.[1]

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[1] *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* II. i.

Mahāvīra possessed a powerfully-built physique and we find him described in the standard passages as a strong man, light and vigorous, grand, stern, simple, gentle and heedful. He was broad-chested and his voice was deep and resonant. He preached in the provincial dialect of Magadha. His manner of treating a subject was exhaustive as, in the words of Bhadrabāhu, he "preached with its application, argumentation, information, text, meaning and examination of the meaning."[2]

As an efficient organiser and zealous propagandist Mahāvīra was unequalled. He welded together the two sections of the Order—the ascetics and the laity—and accorded to the latter a definite and honourable place in the ecclesiastical scheme, also making it the highest duty and act of merit on the part of the latter to support the former by giving alms liberally. The laity was enjoined to be exclusive in their loyalty and patronage and intercourse with adherents of a rival creed was a matter of disapprobation, as would appear from this declaration made by Ānanda, a newly converted lay disciple—"Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me from this day forward to praise and worship any man of a heretic community, or any of the devas or objects of reverence of a heretic community; or without being first addressed by them to address them or converse with them; or to give them or supply them with food and drink or delicacies or dainties except it be by the command of the king or the community or any powerful man or a deva or by the orders of one's elders or by the exigencies of living."[3] Propagation of his doctrine, extermination of heresy, winning over converts from other creeds, and suppression of rivals were carried on by Mahāvīra with great energy; in this his contemporary rival teachers,

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[1] *Upās.* VI, 174.

[2] *Aup.* 34; *Kalp. S.*, *Rules for yatis*, 64.

[3] *Upās.* I, 58.

Buddha included, also were very keen no doubt. Buddha's motive for directing his steps towards Isipatana-Migadava immediately after obtaining enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi tree, his thoughts before undertaking this journey of attempting the conversion of his former teachers Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, his sojourn among the Jaṭilas of Uruvela, his winning over the two highly talented friends Sāriputta and Moggallāna about which he was taunted by the people of Rājagṛha, and many other such incidents in some of which he commissioned either Sāriputta or Moggallāna to go in advance and prepare the ground for a new conversion, while he himself came up later on to complete the task—the motive for these must have been propaganda and obtainment of publicity. To Mahāvīra as well as to his other rivals, the purpose of this propaganda was preaching of truth as it appeared to each of them.

The Bhagavatī mentions the episode of exchange of curses between Mahāvīra and Gosāla, which bereft of figurative language, was perhaps in fact a nasty battle of words between the two. If "fiery forces" (*teullesa*) which we are told were exchanged by the two, may be taken to mean fiery language, then there was good reason for it, for it is mentioned that the event caused considerable commotion in the locality, that the people were equally divided in their sympathy for the two disputants, and hence for effect a strong impression had to be made on the public mind. A little after this Mahāvīra instructed his disciples to go and annoy Gosāla with questions when the latter was lying ill of fever.

The Buddhists have recorded an account of tumultuous happenings in the suburb of Nālandā when both Mahāvīra and Buddha were present there. Upāli, a lay disciple of Mahāvīra, paid a visit to Buddha against the strong warnings of Mahāvīra, and finally transferred his loyalty to Buddha, whereupon Mahāvīra invaded Upāli's house with a large number of followers and strongly upbraided him for his disloyalty and his cold-shouldering the Nirgranthas.[1] The Pali account adds that Mahāvīra was so very much upset about this matter that hot blood gushed out of his mouth. On another occasion, say the Buddhists, he asked Prince Abhaya—the Jainas frequently mention a son of Bimbisāra who had this name—to question Buddha as to whether Buddha ever used harsh language. It had come to his ears that Buddha, in referring to Devadatta, the schismatic leader and an avowed enemy of Buddha, had used such words as "*āpāyiko Devadatto, nerayiko Devadatto.*" If, said Mahāvīra to Abhaya, Buddha admitted that he used harsh language he would stand self-condemned and on the other hand if he denied it then he should be asked if he referred to Devadatta in those words. Mahāvīra, we are told also took care to remind Abhaya that if the latter could defeat Buddha in debate he would gain great fame.[2]

The Buddhists narrate many other stories detrimental to the reputation of Mahāvīra and his followers. We must beware of attaching too much importance to these narratives, for directed against a rival sect as they are, they are sure to be tainted with sectarian jealousy and animosity.

An important item in the organisation of the Order was the appointment of eleven *gaṇadharas* or chief disciples under whom the ascetics were grouped. Each group again was subdivided into smaller groups of a few ascetics under an instructor. Discipline must have been rigid and unlike the Śākyaputrīya śramaṇas, the Nirgrantha śramaṇas had plenty of work to do by way of the practise of austerities, penances and fasts, etc., besides dhyāna, to keep them engaged. Stress was laid upon study also. All these combined to make the life of a Nirgrantha śramaṇa far less easy than his brother in the Order of the Śākyaputriyas and this is one of the reasons why we do not find among the Nirgranthas such frequent dissensions, disputes, and strifes of the nature as arose amongst the Saṃgha of Buddha, as the Vinaya literature shows. Life was far too serious with a Nirgrantha śramaṇa than it was to a Śākyaputriya śramaṇa who in many instances took the implications of the *majjhimā paṭipadā* to be a justification for his indolence and in whose hands avoidance of rigours became the seed of levity.

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[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya, Upāli Sutta.*

[2] *Majjhima-Nikāya, Abhayarājakumāra Sutta.*

Sometime after his separation from Gosāla, Mahāvīra was ill of fever and asked a disciple to go to a married woman, Revatī by name, and tell her that there was no need of the two pigeons she had been cooking for him but that there was the flesh of a cock killed the day before by a cat—that she should send him. The disciple did as he was told and when the meat was brought to him, Mahāvīra ate it voraciously.[1] This is the plain meaning of the language of the text but it became a delicate question to the Jaina, and we find Abhayadeva, the Commentator, making the remark that although this statement is taken in its literal sense by some, there are others who understand the terms used in the text for 'pigeon,' 'flesh of a cock,' and 'cat' to mean respectively gourd, pulp of citron, and the *viḍālikā* plant. That this is a strained attempt on the part of a later generation to bring into line what Mahāvīra ate with their ideas of pure food, is clear on the very face of it, for the simple language of the text coupled with Abhayadeva's admission that *it is taken in its literal sense by many*, leaves no doubt on the matter. Later Buddhists also got into the same difficulty in regard to their Master's last meal. In fact, the occasion and the circumstances of Mahāvīra's meat-eating in this case was perfectly consistent with the rule of food he laid down which was identical with Buddha's rule on the matter as well, *viz.*, that one should not kill for himself or ask another to kill for him nor should the slaughter be expressly for him. In this case the cat had killed the cock and there was no sin in eating meat as such if it satisfied those three conditions. In this connection notice needs also to be taken of the instruction to the Nirgrantha ascetics to accept only such fish and meat given as alms, as were free from bones,[1] which shows that no prohibition attached, at least in the beginning, to the taking as alms of any food that was ordinarily used as fit for human consumption if it did not involve killing of life in the three-fold manner stated above.

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[1] *Bhag.* 15, 557.

In common with most of his contemporaries Mahāvīra also accepted without question the twin theories of karma and transmigration of the soul. He was responsible for a great deal of development taking place in these two important ideas which have so deeply tinged every shade of Indian thought, and the credit must go to him of being the first historical person to bring these two questions to the forefront and make far-reaching contributions to their subsequent elaboration. In the system of Mahāvīra there is no room for God nor any need of Him. He may be called an atheist in a sense. He taught that jīva and pudgala or the soul and matter are both eternally existent. According to him, the jīva in its liberated state would be endowed with such attributes as would bring it almost in line with the ātman or Brahman of the Upaniṣads or the state of nibbāna as Buddha conceived it. But the Jaina Canon does not know God ; it does not mention Him ; it does not ask anything about Him. The grounds that Professor Surendranath Dasgupta mentions as the Jaina's arguments in support of atheism[2] are the later wisdom of learned schoolmen. Even though the dualistic *jīva-pudgala* doctrine does not require God, one would expect to know what Mahāvīra had to say to those who believed in a God—but in vain would one search into the thousands of questions and answers between the disciples and Mahāvīra, contained in the voluminous Bhagavatī, on all possible and even impossible subjects, or into any other work of the Canon, for such information. In the case of Buddha we have at least the satisfaction of a significant silence on his part on this question [1] because he thought such discussion was without any practical utility whereas the doctrine of the *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* was both practically important and he was certain about it. One wonders why the ever inquisitive Gautama, the favourite disciple, failed to sound the Master about so important a matter. The answer to all this seems to be that the creed to which Mahāvīra lent all the weight of his support had long been independent of the idea of God. [2]

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[1] *Ācār.* II, i. 10. 6.

[2] *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 203-206.

A comparison is irresistible between Buddha and Mahāvīra the two great teachers who preached their anti-Vedic doctrines in the same period of that distant past. Born in families of the same high social status, both of them renounced the world at about the same age; both claimed the attainment of the highest human perfection and untiringly and ceaselessly preached their respective doctrines in more or less the same geographical region in and around the province of Magadha. The teachings of one went through phases of amazing vitality and development reaching beyond the shores of India, acting, as a great civilising agency amongst peoples of different climes and distant regions, stimulating moral and spiritual progress wherever it went, and ultimately fell into decay and died out completely in its homeland. On the other hand the teachings of Mahāvīra remained much the same throughout the long centuries, never gathering a halo of glory around itself but yet illumining its immediate vicinity, lacking in fervour but robust in its strength and service, and although ousted from its original home yet maintaining its position with sufficient respectability amongst an intelligent section of the Indian people down to the present day.

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[1] *Dīgha Nikāya, Poṭṭhapāda Sutta.*

[2] I have devoted a chapter to a discussion of this question in my forthcoming study of Jainism from Canonical Sources, of which the present article forms a section.

In the vigour and independence of their Kṣatriyan outlook, in their great moral earnestness and zeal for the spiritual welfare of the masses in general, in their personal sacrifices, in their philosophical insight and constructive genius, those two great contemporaries were almost alike. But let that not detain us, for it is the dissimilarities of their character that interest us in our present study.

Mahāvīra was a stern and austere man who lacked the charming geniality, elasticity of temperament, and gentle attractiveness of Buddha. Except when he preached or answered questions or spoke for effect Mahāvīra was mostly silent, whereas Buddha was a great conversationalist who took a delight in talking in congenial company, frequently surprising the disciples in the middle of their talks, seeking conversation with aspirants of other sects, and also talked on the road while journeying from place to place. Buddha was more frank and outspoken about his thoughts and feelings to his disciples from whom he withheld nothing. On many an occasion we find Buddha reproving his disciples for breach of the rules of Vinaya, for their foolishness or for any other thing which was not approved of by him in their conduct. In the instances mentioned by the Jainas, on the other hand, when Mahāvīra had any occasion to differ with or disapprove of his disciples we find him maintaining, at least in the first instance, a grim silence. Mention has been made of Mahāvīra's aggressiveness in act, but Buddha was probably the more aggressive and uncompromising in talk as well as somewhat excitable. Mahāvīra strictly forbade any intercourse on the part of his followers with supporters of other creeds or giving them alms, but we find Buddha exhorting Sīha, who transferred his loyalty from Mahāvīra to himself, not to deprive the Nirgranthas of alms in his house to which they had so long been accustomed.[1] The intellectual equipment of the two

[1] *Mahāvagga* VI, 31.11.

teachers were the same, and yet while Buddha extolled the merits of work, Mahāvīra dwelt more on the dire consequences of bad work ; one wanted more good work while the other wanted less bad work ; one encouraged people to be " once-returners " and " no-returners," while the other drew gruesome pictures of suffering in countless hells and series of painful births on earth and asked people to beware. The optimism of one developed into the spirit of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā* which held out hopes of Tathāgata-hood to thousands of men, while the grimness of the other led to the amplification of sufferings here and hereafter in the First Part of the *Vipākaśruta.*

Buddha held that the state of mind accompanying an act, good or bad, is more important than the act itself in assessing the value thereof, but Mahāvīra, though he did not discount the state of mind altogether, held that the actual act committed was the more important in passing judgment on the moral status of the doer.

Mahāvīra does not seem to have aroused the hostility of the Brahmans as did Buddha. Buddha was the greater idealist whereas Mahāvīra was the more practical man, and took careful stock of circumstances immediately surrounding him. Mahāvīra was always prepared to concede a point or two to his rivals, and to appear to agree with them for a while. Both of them were skilful and diplomatic in their dealings with prospective converts —but while Buddha depended on his gentleness, goodness and harmless diplomacy to create an impression, Mahāvīra arrayed all his forces to demolish the stronghold of an adversary's creed.

Mahāvīra adopted nudity and held it up before his disciples as the ideal. Buddha laid down strict rules on robing and was very particular about his disciples making a decent appearance in public ; he recommended bath and washing and encouraged habits of personal cleanliness, all of which were forbidden by Mahāvīra. Treatment of disease, use of medicines, moderate comfort for the body were allowed by Buddha, but Mahāvīra had no place for these in his scheme of asceticism. We must not misunderstand the meaning of Mahāvīra's nudity, shocking and repulsive though it might seem to us as it did even to many of his contemporaries. We have to remember that Mahāvīra's object was not to promote refinement of tastes and susceptibilities but to help and hasten the liberation of the soul from the bondage of *pudgala*, the ultimate constituent of matter. Whatever tended to free the mind from notions and practices that had the effect of accentuating or perpetuating the dependence of the soul on the body or their inseparableness, was a step towards the goal, for according to him man's sufferings were due to *pudgala*-particles adhering to and coalescing with the soul and liberation meant shedding off these accretions. Nudity meant that the person had shifted the focus from the body to the soul and had concentrated himself on his real self, the soul, to such an extent as to exclude all ideas of there being any relation between the soul and the body or in other words looking upon the soul as if it had already been freed from and made independent of its binding agency. Viewed in this light, the state of nudity is a symbol of a high degree of purity of mind and spiritual loftiness where the flesh becomes as good as non-existent. Mortification of the flesh, neglect of taking any care of and interest in the body are also designed to serve the same end by forcibly making the mind ignore the body, rise superior to it, and free the soul from its subjection.

Unlike Buddha, Mahāvīra had no objections regarding the admission of women into the Order. Except in such matters as a few extra articles of clothing we find no mention of differences being made between monks and nuns. In the *Upāsakadaśā* we find Mahāvīra accompanied by large numbers of nuns too in his journeys from place to place and in the *Jñātādharmakathā* stories we come across female Elders who had not only nuns but monks as well under their instruction.

Alas! the rigid control exercised by Mahāvīra over his Order could not prevent dissensions, for we learn on Buddhist testimony[1] that immediately after his death the public knew of the outbreak of dissensions among the Nirgranthas.

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

TO DEATH

1

I dash through World's miseries,
To meet thee. Darling of my soul!
I chase those vile fears away to see
The dawn of Life in thy sweet eyes.

2

Like the rising sun sprinkling
Unbidden joy over the world around,
Like the pouring rain showering
Boundless wealth on earth below,

3

Like the roaring ocean sweeping
The shores with majestic beauty,
I feel in thy stately coming
The Joy of Life that is ever to be.

N. N. CHANDRA

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[1] *Digha-Nikāya, Pāsādika Sutta* ; *Majjhima-Nikāya, Sāmagāma Sutta.*

ARU DUTT AND HER WORK

The name of Aru, Toru's elder sister, will always be associated with her own name, as the name of Coleridge is for ever associated with that of Wordsworth for his collaboration in the planning and publication of the Lyrical Ballads, and much more truly, as the names of the Brontës are for ever associated as Currer, Elis and Acton Bell. The comparison in this case with Wordsworth and Coleridge is significant, for as in the Lyrical Ballads it was Coleridge's share which gave the venture its unique success, so, in the ' Sheaf ' properly speaking, Aru's work outshines that of her younger sister. The rendering of Victor Hugo's ' Serenade ' which is as much original as a translation can be, so long thought to be Toru's, has now unquestionably been decided to be the work of Aru—as Toru's recently published letters show, and also as it bears the initial ' A ' against it.

We are surprised to-day to find how a great scholar of the eminence of the late Mr. Edmund Gosse who even pointed out Toru's spirit for research in her notes to ' A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields,' could mistake the poem as Toru's even though he found the initial ' A ' against it. To remove all confusion Toru expressly mentions the name of her elder sister towards the conclusion of the notes and thus explains the initial ' A. '

" The writer of these pages has only to add here, that the pieces signed ' A ' are by her dear and only sister Aru who fell asleep in Jesus on the 23rd July, 1874, at the early age of twenty years. The last piece she translated was ' Colinette.' Had she lived, this book with her help might perhaps have been better, and the writer might perhaps have had less reason to be ashamed of it, and less occasion to ask for the reader's indulgence. Alas!

> " Of all sad words of tongue or pen
> The saddest are these—it might have been."

But Mr. Gosse is not to blame. He was seized with rapture and amazement at the discovery of the lyrical gem in the anthology.

Indeed, this girl who died younger than Toru (she was barely twenty when she died) was equally gifted as her sister, though not more so. She had definite artistic leanings; and she had in mind to illustrate a novel to be writen by Toru. That, however, could never be owing to her premature death; and Toru's novel ' Le Journal de Mlle. D'Arvers ' was published after the death of both the sisters, without the proposed illustrations by Aru. And the bereaved father was left to mourn his sad losses in such pathetic and moving words as these,—" Why should these three young lives so full of hope and work be cut short, while I, old and almost infirm, linger on ? I can dimly see that there is a fitness, a preparation for the life beyond which they had and I have not. One day I shall see it all clearly. Blessed be the Lord. His will be done."

It is a pity, that this gifted poetess has not left us any original work. But, what she has left, is, by its sheer beauty and pathetic interest, enough to give her a place in the history of English literature by the side of her better-known sister.

Her work is very meagre. She did eight of the translations contained in the ' Sheaf,' but anyone who soberly judges these verse-translations will find that her lyrical quality was as extraordinary as that of Toru and that she has left us some altogether complete gems. One can also get a peep into the mind of this true child of Romanticism, if one considers her choice of subjects. In this she resembled Mrs. Hemans, about whom Prof. Herford has said, " She is at the beck and call of whatever is touched with the pathos of the far-away, of the by-gone scenes of reminiscence or farewell, laments of exile and dirges for the dead." Aru too loved to indulge with the richest intensity the more superficial and transient elements of Romanticism and to feel and depict the pathos of life; and here too, she was attracted by that love to translate some of the most pathetic pieces in the anthology—pieces which have in them the glow of crepuscular light.

But the most remarkable of her renderings are three,—the first Victor Hugo's 'Serenade' the original with the translation of which we reproduce below :—

Autre Chanson.

L'aube nait et ta porte est close !
Ma belle, pourquoi sommeiller ?
À l'heure ou s'êveille la rose
Ne vas-tu pas te réveiller ?
O ma charmante,
Ecoute ici
L'amant qui chante
Et pleure aussi !
Tout frappe è ta porte bénie;
L'aurore dit : Je suis le jour !
L'oiseau dit : Je suis l'harmonie !
Et mon coeur dit : Je suis l'amour !
O ma charmante,
Ecout ici
L'amant qui chante
Et pleure aussi !
Je t'adore ange et t'aime femme.
Dieu qui par toi m'a complété
A fait mon amour pour ton âme
Et mon regard pour ta beauté :
O ma charmante
Ecoute ici
L'amant qui chante
Et pleure aussi !

Morning Serenade.

" Still barred thy doors ! the far East glows,
The morning wind blows fresh and free,
Should not the hour that wakes the rose
Awaken also thee ?
All look for thee, Love, Light and Song,
Light in the sky deep red above,
Song in the lark of pinions strong,
And in my heart true Love,

Apart we miss our nature's goal,
Why strive to cheat our destinies ?
Was not my love made for thy soul ?
Thy beauty for mine eyes ?
No longer sleep,
Oh! listen now!
I wait and weep:
But where art thou ?

the second 'The Captive to the Swallows' from Beranger, and the third and last 'The Young Captive' from Andre Chenier's 'Jeune Captive' written during his months of imprisonment in the 'Iambes.' Aru very ably and feelingly conveys the longing and lingering look at life of the beautiful Aimee de Coigny, Duchess de Fleury, herself like her poet, a victim of the Revolution, in such lines as :—

The Young Captive.

The budding shoot ripens unharmed by the scythe,
Without fear of the press, on vine branches lithe,
Through spring-tide the green clusters bloom.
Is't strange then, that I in my life's morning hour,
Though troubles like clouds on the dark present lower,
Half-frighted shrink back from my doom ?

2

Let the stern stoic run boldly on death !
I—I weep and I hope; to the north wind's chill breath
I bend,—then erect is my form !
If days there are bitter, there are days also sweet,
Enjoyment unmixed where on earth may we meet ?
What ocean has never a storm ?

3

Illusions the fairest assuage half my pain,
The walls of a prison enclose me in vain,
The strong wings of hope bear me far;
So escape from the net of the fowler the bird,
So darts he through ether, while his music is heard
Like showers of sweet sound from a star.

4

Comes Death unto me? I sleep tranquil and calm,
And Peace when I wake stands by with her balm,
Remorse is the offspring of crimes;
My welcome each morning smiles forth in all eyes,
My presence is here to sad brows, a surprise
Which kindles to pleasure at times.

5

The end of my journey seemed so far to my view;
Of the elm-trees which border the long avenue,
The nearest are only past by;
At the banquet of life I have barely sat down,
My lips have but pressed the bright foaming crown
Of the wine in my cup bubbling high.

6

I am only in spring,—the harvest I'd see,
From season to season like the sun I would be
Intent on completing my round;
Shining bright in the garden,—its honour and queen;
As yet but the beams of morning I've seen
I wait for eve's stillness profound.

7

Oh Death, thou canst wait; leave, leave me to dream,
And strike at the hearts where Despair is supreme,
And Shame hails thy dart as a boon!
For me, Pales have arbours unknown to the throngs,
The world has delights, the Muses have songs,
I wish not to perish too soon.

8

A prisoner myself broken-hearted and crushed,
From my heart to my lips all my sympathies rushed,
And my lyre from its slumbers awoke;
All these sorrows, the wishes of a captive I heard,
And to rhyme and to measure I married each word
As softly and simply she spoke.

9

Should this song of my prison hereafter inspire
Some student with leisure her name to enquire,
This answer at least may be given,—
That grace marked her figure, her action, her speech,
And as lived near her blamelsss might teach
That life is the best gift of heaven.

I quote the first and the last stanzas of the original poem for the purpose of comparison,—

La Jeune Captive.

L'épi naissant mûrit de la faux respecté;
Sans crainte du pressoir, le pampre tout l'été
Boit les doux présents de l'aurore;
Et noi, comme lui belle, et jeune comme lui,
Quoi que l'heure présente ait de trouble et d'ennui,
Je ne veux pas mourir encore.

....

Ces chants, de ma prison témoins harmonieux,
Feront a quelque amant des loisirs studieux
Chercher quelle fut cette belle:
La grâce décorait son front et ses discours:
Et, comme elle, craindront de voir finir leurs jours
Ceux qui les passeront pres d'elle.

....

No less beautiful is her rendering of Beranger's 'The Captive to the Swallows,' as one can see from the two following stanzas,—

" A soldier captive by the Maure,
Who bent beneath his heavy chain
Welcomed the swallows from afar,—
'O birds! I see you once again,
Foes of the winter, high ye wheel,
Hope follows in your track e'en here:

....

From well-loved France you come reveal
All that ye know of my country dear.' "

Here is a type of the work which she loved and did. I recall with pride what was said of this rendering of Aru's by Mlle. Clarisse Bader. She said, " Seigneur, a rappele aupres de lui l'ame qui avait si fidilement interprete de chant de la jeune captive." True, Aru has not overwhelmed us with an abundance of her work as many poets have done but, I think, she has embalmed her name for all time, in such slender work as we see. In fragrance and sweetness, I am inclined to think of these three poems of hers, as of those three lilies which the Blessed Damozel held when leaning out from inside the gold bar of heaven.

When we review the work of the Dutt sisters, we find that Toru's work in comparison with that of her elder sister is more powerful, more varied, as her mind essentially was. " Toru had read more, probably had thought more and the elder sister generally appeared to follow the lead of the younger; so that I have often been asked by strangers which of the two is Miss Dutt? " wrote her father in the Prefatory Memoir prefixed to the 'Sheaf.' The contrast which Charlotte Bronte marked between Anne and Emily was perhaps, in an equal manner, present in the characters of these two sisters. In reviewing Aru's character we are strongly reminded of the powerful pen-picture of Charlotte Bronte which gives us to know that Anne's character was milder and more subdued ; she wanted the power, the fire, the originality of her sister, but was well-endowed with quiet virtues of her own. Long-suffering, self-denying, reflective and intelligent, a constitutional reserve and taciturnity placed and kept her in the shade and covered her mind, and especially her feelings, with a sort of nun-like veil, which was rarely lifted." Aru like Anne was always more reserved and reticent than her younger sister, was less original, and consequently, she has left work which is tinctured with similar qualities. Toru kept less closely to the originals than Aru. In the enthusiasm for Toru, one is apt to lose sight of her elder sister, but it is not proper in view of the sterling quality of her work.

Perhaps no one, until quite recently, cared to know what the initial 'A' stands for. And, probably to this fact is due the omission of Aru's translation of the Morning Serenade by Victor Hugo, which we mark in 'Selections chiefly Lyrical from the Poetical Works of Victor Hugo,'' edited by Henry Llewellyn Williams, in 1885, although the editor selected the rendering of the much less beautiful Serenade 'Quand tu Chantes' by Henry F. Chorley.

Readers of the well-known Greek Anthology know that the most ingenious work of Meleager of Gadara is the Proem to the Anthology. There he thus describes the Metaphorical Garland :—

> '' Whereunto many blossoms brought Anyte.
> Wild flags, and Moero many,—lilies white;
> And Sappho few, but roses.''

And we have the earnest, that readers of "A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields,'' instead of being bewildered in the labyrinth of 'wild flags' and 'lilies white' of Toru, will notice the few roses which Aru so carefully transplanted from their native soil.[1]

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

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[1] From the Author's "Indian Female Writers of English Verse."

THE BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, POET AND PLAYWRIGHT (1564-1616)

Stratford-on-Avon, the birthplace of William Shakespeare, is a literary Mecca. Indeed, it is a great deal more ; it is a gem of scenic beauty, and of great historical interest to all. Situated centrally in England upon the banks of the broad River Avon, Stratford attracts thousands of visitors a year from all parts of the world who seek the shrine of the greatest man the literary world has ever known. Into the town they pour from India, Ceylon, China, Japan, America, France, Germany—all to pay tribute to a noble man.

Stratford is roughly 22½ miles from my own house, a distance which gives me ample opportunity of studying its history, visitors and points of interest at close range. Its points of interest are many—and varied. Chief of these I would say is the house in which Shakespeare was born, April 23rd, 1564. For more than two centuries it has been the shrine of devout pilgrims, and upon my last visit to this old-world latticed windowed house I was more than amazed to find it in such good repair, having suffered no apparent injury from the countless thousands of feet that had trod through and through the narrow timbered rooms since the pilgrimage began. In each of the six rooms in the house there are guides and attendants who explain the various exhibits and curious old books and papers to the wondering crowd that continually flocks through.

Clopton Bridge, which spans the Avon with nineteen arches, is a solid structure of grey stone, was built in 1490 and is still quite sound. Halls Croft is a magnificent specimen of old English architecture with its old garden and timbered front ; this was for some time the residence of Susanna Shakespeare, the poet's eldest daughter.

America has long revered the memory of William Shakespeare and probably there are more American visitors to

Stratford than any other nationality, but in the main street of Stratford there is a little house that always flies the American flag. This is Havard House which was built by Alderman Thomas Rogers, whose descendant, John Havard, founded the world-famous American University bearing his name. This house too has many thousands of visitors a year.

Great interest is shown in the cottage at Shottery, one mile from the centre of Stratford, in which Ann Hathaway, the Poet's wife lived. At the top of the main street nearly opposite to where Marie Corelli, the world famous novelist, lived, is the old timbered Grammar School or the King Edward VI School founded by Thomas Jolyffe, a priest, in the reign of King Edward VI.

In 1597 William Shakespeare bought the largest house in Stratford town, New Place, and this was the scene of the Poet's retirement and last residence. He went to live in this quiet old house with the formal intention of revising and issuing a new edition of his plays and poems, but unhappily, worn out with hard work, he died of some nervous disorder, April 23rd, 1616.

A few years ago in a commanding position on the banks of the River Avon stood the Shakespeare Memorial Buildings, consisting of a Library, Picture Gallery, Lecture Rooms, Museum, View Tower, Gardens and Sculpture. But unfortunately, in some mysterious manner most of these magnificent buildings were destroyed in a disastrous fire a few years ago. They are shortly to be replaced by a very modern style of buildings, the plans of which have roused much critical comment. The foundation stones have indeed been laid, and it is very gratifying to find that America's admiration of Shakespeare is so great that the citizens of the United States of America head the subscription list for the building of the New Shakespeare Memorial Buildings with no less a sum than a quarter of a million sterling. Nearly all of the valuable pictures housed in the Gallery were saved from the ravages of the fire, and when they are finally given a home in the building that is in course of erection they will be the largest known collection of pictures in oils or print connected with the life and works of Shakespeare.

In High Street we have the Cage where Judith, the Poet's youngest daughter, lived for thirty-six years after her marriage with Thomas Quiney. The Town Hall which is quite an interesting place was built as early as 1633, and was later re-built in 1768 from the proceeds of the Garrick Jubilee.

But for a really interesting ancient structure we turn our attention to the Holy Trinity Church, a portion of which, I believe, dates back to A. D. 692. In the Chancel of this old-world Church, in the most honoured position, lie the remains of the great Poet, and above his grave is the following cryptic inscription upon a dark stone :—

Good frend for Jesus sake forbeare,
To digg the dust encloased here:
Bleste be a man that spares these stones,
And crust be he that moves my bones.

This inscription is, of course, written in very old English, and readers will observe that the spelling of certain words are very curious as compared with the present-day English style. The only record preserved that directly relates to Shakespeare's death, which may be real or fictitious, is in the ancient Diary belonging to Ward wherein is written :—

> "Shakespeare, Drayton and Ben Jonson (another poet) had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted."

Shakespeare's widow survived her illustrious husband seven years, dying in the month of August, 1623.

Historians are of a decided opinion that Shakespeare whilst in London, about the year 1568, became an actor in Lord Strange's company playing at various theatres in and around Shoreditch. Numerous bands of wandering actors and players had visited Stratford during the Poet's boyhood and it is presumed that he was fired, upon witnessing these performances, with an ardent longing for a similar vocation, and so found his way to London, which in those days, as now, was the main centre for all theatrical work.

Here the Poet played for some considerable time, taking the part of a king in several pieces, the ghost in *Hamlet*, and also a prominent part in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, until in about 1603 he retired from the stage, for he did not greatly love the profession of an actor. He felt that it lowered his prestige to no little extent, for, as may be judged from his writings, Shakespeare always considered himself a gentleman of noble birth and good breeding, and all his associates were gentlemen too.

With regard to his writings, nothing has been found that was written by Shakespeare earlier than 1593, which goes to prove he did not commence to write in earnest until he had attained the age of twenty-eight. In 1593, we find he published a poem called *Venus and Adonis*, which was addressed, in the dedication, to Henry Wriothesly (Earl of Southampton) ; and in 1594 a further poem was published, *The Rape of Lucrece*, which was also dedicated to that nobleman. The first of these poems, *Venus and Adonis*, upon publication made a very good impression on the public, rapidly running into six or seven editions, the last of which appeared about 1602. We cannot say exactly when the great Poet actually wrote his first play but it was not much later than 1597 or thereabouts, for then the texts of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—were published.

Apparently Shakespeare himself had little, or even nothing, to do with the publication of his plays at any time. It has been remarked by many lovers of his works that they are astonished that he should have tolerated such harum-scarum methods as the publishers and printers of those days adopted. The following table gives roughly the various dates of publication of his plays as compiled by William M. Rossetti in a very old and precious edition in my possession.

In 1593 were published *Loves Labour Lost,* and *Henry IV,* Part I ; in 1600, *Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Henry IV,* Part II ; *Much Ado About Nothing,* and a second edition of *Titus Andronicus.* In 1602, *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* In 1603, *Hamlet,* an unauthorised edition, which was later followed in 1604 by a corrected edition. In 1608, *King Lear,* in 1609, *Troilus and Cressida,* and *Pericles.* Other plays, not distinctly accounted for as to year of writing, publication, or presentation, are:—*As You Like It* (about 1600); *Julius Caesar,* and the *Twelfth Night* (about 1602), *Measure for Measure,* and *Othello* (about 1604), *Macbeth* (about 1610), *Winter's Tale* (about 1611), *Taming of the Shrew, Henry VI, Anthony and Cleopatra, Timon of Athens, Coriolanus, Cymbeline, Henry VIII,* and *the Tempest.* The last named play is regarded by many to be Shakespeare's last. Over and above the foregoing, previous to 1593, the following plays had been produced on the stage:—

The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour Won (probably identical to *All's Well that Ends Well*) and *King John.*

Shakespeare courted Royal favour ; that is obvious from his writings. During his life his sonnets and plays were spoken of by envious competitors as "his sugared sonnets for private friends." Who can blame Shakespeare for courting Royal favour? The only path to fame lay in that direction ; others had tried and failed, Shakespeare was more than successful. His plays were produced at Court under the delighted patronage of Queen Elizabeth, and her successor King James I. A vicar, named Ward, who lived in Stratford for some time, kept a Diary of the more important business of Stratford from 1648 to 1679, and in it is recorded the fact (of doubtful origin) that Shakespeare supplied the stage with two plays per year, and from this he received so large an allowance that he spent at the rate of a thousand pounds per annum.

The richness of Shakespeare's vocabulary was the secret of his wonderful success in play-writing. It has been computed that he used no fewer than 15,000 words, whilst even as great a poetic successor as Milton used only about 8,000. It would appear that Shakespeare besides being well learned in surgery, medicine, navigation, war, chemistry, printing, necromancy and music, was also versed in French and Italian, for a number of his plays are founded on Italian originals of which no contemporary translation can be traced.

Shakespeare must have soon tired of London for we learn that after a few years spent there he began earnestly to prepare for an ultimate retirement in Stratford-on-Avon. We are told that in 1597 he bought the very best house in Stratford, a place called New Place, for the sum of £60, which, in comparison with the present value of money, must have been a very large sum in those days. In 1602 he bought for £320, some 107 acres of land in the Parish of Stratford, and in the same year some properties in the Town. He made his largest purchase of property in the year 1605, when he bought for the sum of £440 the remaining thirty-one years of lease of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton. Other facts of similar dealings, and one or two records of prosecutions for debt, in one case against a man named Rogers, and in another a man named Addenbrooke, proved that Shakespeare was a man of business looking sharply after his own interests.

Shakespeare wrote 154 sonnets, which have long been a source of argument on the part of sundry historians and others. A large number of people maintain that these sonnets contribute little or nothing towards Shakespeare's biography, whilst others argue that they display a different literary style in his writing, whilst yet another group have said that he wrote them as a form of literary satire. However, let his sonnets be what they may, we cannot help but notice that they failed to win the popularity of his plays.

To leave the sonnets and revert back to Shakespeare's life, it is probable that he was still resident in London in the year

1611, but knowing well the charm and health-giving properties of his native town he elected, in 1612, to change the glitter and glory of London for the peaceful quietude of Stratford-on-Avon, where he spent the remainder of his days.

He returned to his native heath a true man of the world, with a saner and broader outlook on life than he had ever entertained before leaving there. Already, all the eyes of literary England were centered on Shakespeare, and it was not long before he was lauded by his fellow townsmen as the greatest man in the whole world. His only son Hamnet died in 1596, his father in 1601, and his mother in 1608. Susanna Shakespeare, who, as I mentioned in the beginning of this article, lived in Halls Croft after her marriage to a Dr. Hall, a local physician of some eminence, and to them a daughter was born in 1608. Shakespeare's wife and his younger daughter Judith kept house with him, and in February 1616 he married this daughter to Thomas Quiney.

Some comment has been aroused by the Poet's will, in which he bequeathed all his lands, tenements, etc., to Susanna; a sum of £300 to Judith; and his second-best bed with its furniture, and a few trifling legacies to his wife. It is the insignificant bequest to his wife that has aroused the comments, for it appears to show the Poet held his wife in slight esteem, but it is almost certain that as the estates were freehold she was more than amply provided for by law in the form of dower. The Poet died worth no large sum of money, which he must have spent freely during his lifetime, and it is also noticeable that his theatrical properties are not featured in his will which goes to prove that these must have been disposed of some time previous to his death.

There are a few original portraits and busts of Shakespeare in existence, and also a number that supposed to represent him. Principal among them we have the Stratford bust adjacent to the Poet's grave, the Droeshout engraving, the Chandos painting, the Jansen painting, and the Felton Head; there is also a deathmask, which, if it is accepted as authentic, is the only real likeness of them all. Both in Shakespeare's house at Stratford and in the Theatre Picture Gallery there are numberless papers, books, engravings, pictures, curios, and busts that form a never-ending source of delight to both the historian and the ordinary layman.

I fully realise how impossible it is for the majority of you to ever visit the Poet's birthplace and glory in the atmosphere of his indefinable charm ; so I have endeavoured to bring a little of it, through the medium of this article, to your own home, and thus knowing more of the Poet's inner life you will read his great works with a possible further enjoyment. To those of you who have not read Shakespeare I can only say, Do so at once, for you are missing the most beautiful gems of literary composition that we have ever had bequeathed to us. Remember Shakespeare went a long way to founding the present-day English style of prose. In the light of this, therefore, his works should hold a wealth of stimulated interest to all English-speaking people.

Shakespeare has been lionised by America. An offer was made some few years ago by that country for Shakespeare's house (the sum was colossal). The offer, needless to say, was refused by the English authorities, but if it had been accepted the Americans would have shipped the whole house over to America and re-built it, true to every detail, in some chosen spot. So much for America, but there are signs that India is recognising his great genius; for I see that in one or two instances plays have been given in native language by eminent Indian Actors and Actresses. It gives us great pleasure to observe this. Let us hope that his popularity will grow steadily year by year!

LELAND J. BERRY

LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY: A STUDY IN THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Introductory.

The term "Local Boards" is used in the Madras Presidency in a restricted sense to denote the authorities exercising jurisdiction in matters of local government outside the municipalities formed under the District Municipalities Act and the City of Madras. They are institutions concerned with the affairs of rural parts as distinguished from urban centres. Their exact position can be better understood by an expression like "Rural Boards"; but in spite of the high authority of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation [1] this change in nomenclature has not found acceptance. Their power and responsibility extend over an area of 122,402 square miles with a population of about thirty-eight millions.[2] Their duties "cover most of the activities upon which the essential welfare of the country depends. They have the care of public health and all the circumstances upon which that health depends; they control elementary education; they construct and maintain local buildings and communications and they touch the life of the people at every point." [3] The history of the local boards also serves as a mirror in which one can see reflected the course of the evolution of political ideas in this country during the last sixty years. It has a special interest for the student of political science who can see in it the working of an experiment which combines democracy and devolution at the bottom with bureaucracy and centralisation at the top and open for him a field of enquiry as to whether different parts of government can be really built on mutually antagonistic principles.

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[1] Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, para. 732.

[2] Report on the Working of Local Boards, 1928-29 (the latest report available), p. 36.

[3] Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government, 1915.

The success of administration by local boards depends on a variety of factors and the most prominent of them are : (1) the areas created for the purpose; (2) the constitution of the boards; (3) the kind and degree of state control exercised over them; (4) the functions with which they are entrusted; (5) their financial resources; (6) the principles determining the grant of state aid to them; and (7) the general interest prevailing among the people in the working of all political institutions. With regard to every one of these the local boards in this Presidency have an interesting tale to tell. This chapter deals with administrative areas.

By an "administrative area" is meant the area or territory for which a separate local authority is set up. Each department of administration—Revenue, Judicial, Education, Forest, Public Works, etc.—has its areas which are in some cases small and in others big. They are sometimes amalgamated and made larger and sometimes divided and made smaller. The alteration of the limits of revenue districts and taluks from time to time,[1] of the areas within the jurisdiction of district munsiffs and sub-judges, and of those under the control of executive and superintending engineers is a common phenomenon. But the determination of the areas over which separate local boards should exercise authority has provoked more controversies than changes in the areas of other departments of government. The broad question was whether areas for purposes of local government should be the same as those for general administration and whether there was need in that sphere for the hierarchy of districts, revenue divisions, taluks and villages which is the feature characterising general administration.

2. *Areas before 1871.*

Although Local Boards were for the first time set up by the Local Funds Act of 1871, local taxes for being spent on local requirements were collected for some years previous to it. An education rate was raised under the Education Act of 1863[1] and a road cess under the District Road Cess Act of 1866.[2] In administering these Acts the village was taken as the unit for purposes of education and the district for purposes of roads. Over each village in which the Education Act was in force a separate authority was established and all the proceeds of the education rate were spent by that authority in the village in which they were collected so that the rate-payers might have the satisfaction that they got a direct and immediate return for what they paid. As regards the road cess a much bigger unit—the district—was recognised as the proper area. The Collector was the authority that collected the tax and spent it and he was given power to utilise its proceeds in constructing and maintaining roads in any part of the district and not in the village, the revenue division or the taluk in which it was collected. This differentiation in respect of education and roads was based on the principle that there should be some connection between function and area.

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[1] There were 21 districts in 1881 and the number now is 25.

In 1871 the Government introduced a Local Funds Bill into the legislature. It proposed to collect a number of taxes and tolls for being spent not merely on roads but also on education and public health. It also provided for the establishment of boards or committees to administer the funds instead of leaving everything in the hands of the Collector. The question therefore of the area for which such boards should be created became important. There was a school of thought which wanted to make the taluk the area on the ground that the district was too big to be a suitable unit. They pointed out that in the past the road cess was not spent equitably on the needs of all the taluks and that it was only the area in the neighbourhood of the district headquarters in which the collector was most interested that was benefited by the cess. They also apprehended that if the district continued to be the single administrative unit there would be the same kind of neglect of education and public health of the different taluks. The remedy for this state of affairs was to have a local board for each taluk so that there would be a guarantee that what was collected in the taluk would be spent on the needs of the taluk itself. This alone they contended would lead to a due and proper localisation of expenditure.[1]

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[1] Madras Act VI of 1863.

[2] „ „ of 1866.

But this was opposed on administrative grounds. For, under the bill the Collector was to be the *ex-officio* president of all the local boards in the district. If each taluk had a separate local board the number of such boards in the district would be large and it would entail heavy work on the Collector and put him to much strain. There was also another consideration. The provincial government had to sanction the budget of each board, pass orders on the administration reports of all the boards separately and had also direct dealings with each of them on several other matters. It was felt that the establishment of a board for each taluk would require at the provincial headquarters a large staff and make the work of government rather irksome.

3. *The 'Circle' under the Act of 1871.*

A compromise was therefore effected and an area called a 'circle' was created. It was understood that it would be bigger than a taluk but smaller than the district. It meant that each district would be divided into a number of circles and each circle would have a board to exercise authority in the area. It was left to the discretion of the Governor-in-Council to fix from time to time the number and the limits of the circles in each district,[2] a discretion which has become the characteristic feature of all subsequent legislation on the subject. In addition to the circle the Act of 1871 contemplated the retention of the village as an area for education inasmuch as the house-tax for which it provided could be imposed only in villages in which a grant-in-aid school existed.[1] This part of the Act however became ineffective as the association of education with the house-tax made the latter unpopular and led to the tax itself being kept in abeyance from 1873-4.[2] With this disappeared for the time being the importance of the village as a separate area ; and until the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1884 the circle alone continued to be the one administrative area in the rural tracts. There were no other units higher or lower than this.

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[1] Report of the (Madras) Local Self-Government Committee.

[2] Section 3 of Act IV of 1871.

In accordance with the Act of 1871 the Government divided the Presidency into thirty-six circles and the idea was still further to increase their number and make each circle as small in size as would be consistent with administrative ease. Some districts were divided into two and some into three circles each. But the original policy gradually underwent a change and the number of circles was reduced to thirty by 1881-82.

In twelve out of the twenty-one districts the Circle was co-terminus with the district. It appeared as if this tendency would affect the other districts also thus making the district the sole administrative area. For, in the matter of dividing a district into circles the Government did not proceed on any intelligible principle. It was not based on the area or the population of the district or its revenue from local taxes. Everything was done in a haphazard manner. The whole of Nellore which was a big district in those days was within the jurisdiction of only one circle. Smaller districts like Tinnevelly and Ganjam were divided into two circles each. Under those circumstances it would have been no wonder if ultimately the principle of ‘ one district one circle ’ had triumphed.

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[1] Section 36 of Act IV of 1871.

[2] Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency, 1872-3.

4. *Lord Ripon's Resolution and Smaller Areas.*

The issue of the famous resolution on Local Self-Government by Lord Ripon [1] brought about a complete change in the situation. One of its central features was its advocacy of smaller administrative units in preference to the larger areas then existing. It suggested that the smallest administrative unit—the subdivision, taluk or tahsil—should ordinarily form the maximum area to be placed under a local board. This was the result of mature reflection as it was in modification of the views contained in an earlier circular [2] in favour of the larger area—the district. It was supported mainly on three grounds. It was pointed out that small areas alone would secure among the members of the local boards the necessary local knowledge and interest. There was much force in this contention in those days when the means of communication in a district were few and slow and when the inhabitants of one taluk had not opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with the needs of other taluks and of the district as a whole and speak on them with authority. The utmost that could be expected of them was familiarity with the requirements of their own taluk. The second ground was closely connected with the aim of Lord Ripon that Local Government should be transformed into local Self-Government and pave the way for national Self-Government later on. This object had greater chance of success if the unit of local administration was small in size. It would ensure that the electorate would choose their representatives wisely and deliberately and that they would be in a position to watch their work on the boards. The representatives also would under these circumstances discharge their duties with a greater sense of responsibility and with more interest. This argument proved to be a strong one in favour of small areas not only in the days of Lord Ripon but also in later years. A third ground was that the district (or the circle) committees were very badly attended by the members not actually residing in the vicinity of the headquarters and that in consequence undue importance was given to the requirements of the immediate neighbourhood of the district centre. It also resulted in the business falling entirely into the hands of the district officer who in the course of his tours obtained greater acquaintance with the district than the other members of the board who happened to be present at its meetings.

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[1] Resolution, dated 18th May, 1882.

[2] Resolution, Financial, No. 3515 of October 10th, 1881.

5. *The Recommendations of the Local Self-Government Committee.*

The resolution of Lord Ripon's Government was referred by the Madras Government to a committee of officials and non-officials for examination and report. This Committee—known as the 'Local Self-Government Committee'—agreed in principle with the suggestions put forward in Lord Ripon's resolution in regard to smaller areas and made three important recommendations which in some form or other became the basis of all subsequent legislation on the subject of local boards.

(1) Their first recommendation was that the training of the people in the art of self-government could be best brought about through the revival of the ancient village community and making the village the lowest administrative area for purpose of rural government. This would serve as the most effective means for the political and social education of the people. With this object the committee proposed that two kinds of " Village Unions "—Major unions in villages with a population of more than five thousand and Minor unions in smaller villages —might be formed and that the minor unions might be made to look after sanitation while the major ones looked after education and roads also. The term ' union ' was made use of as the committee intended that in certain cases two or more villages should be grouped together in the interests of economy and

efficiency. This recognition of the need for restoring the village to the position of importance which it formerly occupied was a most welcome feature although, as will be pointed out in the next chapter, the committee lost sight of the element of 'Self-Government' in working out the details of its main recommendation.

(2) The second recommendation of the committee was that two or more taluks should be combined together to form the next (higher) administrative area. In this they went against the views embodied in Lord Ripon's resolution. They based this recommendation on a number of difficulties and complications that they thought would result if each taluk was made a separate area. Some of these difficulties were those pointed out during the discussions on the Local Funds Bill of 1871 to which reference has already been made. The others were more or less of a financial character. In every district there were several poor taluks and their individual resources would therefore be too inadequate to enable them to discharge their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner. Their budgets could never be balanced and many of them would have to face the danger of bankruptcy. In the next place the constitution of each taluk into a separate area would mean an unnecessary duplication of the managerial and the clerical staff and a wasteful expenditure on salaries and travelling allowances. There was also the possibility that the multiplication of local boards would increase the number of toll gates in each district—each taluk board competing with the other boards in getting as much revenue as possible from tolls—and unduly hamper all traffic. To prevent such risks the committee did not favour the taluk as a separate area but suggested the revenue division which consisted of a number of taluks as a more reasonable unit. It however proposed that this bigger area should be known as the taluk, and the committee administering its affairs as the taluk committee. It meant—and this anomaly exists even now—that taluk for purposes of local government did not cover the same area as taluk for general administration.

(3) A third and a much more important recommendation was the recognition of the district also as an area in addition to the 'village' and the 'taluk' and the establishment of a 'district' committee over it. This was the introduction of a hierarchical system of local government as the committee wanted that the village union should be the agent of the taluk committee, and that this committee should be subject to the control of the district committee. In one sense this introduced certain complications into the whole scheme of local government, the evils of which are becoming clearer at present. The committee however had some justification for the course it took as the general trend of opinion was in favour of smaller jurisdictions proposed by Lord Ripon and as steps had to be taken to overcome the disadvantages if any of indepedent smaller areas. In the opinion of the committee the most important step in that direction was the constitution of a committee for the district as a whole. This committee would serve three important purposes necessary if the functions proposed for local boards were to be properly looked after. It would look after the constructions and maintenance of the main roads and undertakes other costly works which would be beyond the capacity of any single taluk committee. It would serve as an agency for distributing equitably the revenues from local taxation among the several taluk committees—rich and poor in the district—and co-ordinate their activities. It would also prevent the growth of differences in the rates of local taxation in the neighbouring areas of the same district as this committee was to be solely empowered to determine the levy of important taxes and fix the rates relating to them.

The Government of Madras agreed with the recommendations of the committee in respect of the village union and the district. With regard to the taluk it hesitated between sympathy for smaller areas advocated by the supreme Government and the practical objections put forward against the taluk by the committee. At the time of introducing the Local Boards Bill of 1884 it leaned more in the direction of smaller areas as was made clear by the Hon'ble Mr. Webster the member in charge of the bill in the following words. "The area over which a Taluk Board will ordinarily exercise jurisdiction will be co-terminous with the revenue taluk; but power has been reserved to the Governor-in-Conncil to alter this area if in any case it is found to be so extensive that every member of the board cannot reasonably be expected to be acquainted with and take personal interest in every part of it." The idea was evidently to have areas even smaller than the taluk.

6. *'Unions,' 'Taluks' and 'Districts' under the Act of 1884.*

The Local Boards Act of 1884 did not define rigidly the term "Taluk." It meant "any part of a district which may be declared to be a taluk by the Governor-in-Council." The meaning of the term "union" was also made equally elastic. A "union" was defined as "any revenue village or villages or any portion or portions thereof which may be declared to be a union, by the Governor-in-Council. The district was generally to be identical with the revenue district. In the thirty-six years during which this Act was in operation the area of local administration were thus the village union, the taluk and the district. The hierarchical system came to stay.

Although the Government originally thought of having taluks co-terminous with, or even smaller than, the revenue taluk in practice the policy adopted was in the opposite direction. The revenue division became the recognised unit and the twenty-one districts in the Presidency were at first divided into sixty-six taluks and this number was increased to only eighty-six by 1887-83. There was no strong desire on the part of the Government or agitation on the part of the public to increase their number and make them identical with revenue taluks. Things went on like this until the question was reopened with the publication in 1909 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation.

So much for the Taluk Boards. The story however of the Unions formed under the Act of 1884 proved to be a disappointing one. It was expected that with a view to revive the Ancient Indian village and train the people in the art of self-government, the Government would form a large number of unions. But their progress was slow and after a certain stage it was completely arrested. There were 136 unions in 1886-87; the number went up to 367 by 1896-97 and to only 382 by 1906-07.. There was no prospect of further growth and the impression left on the Royal Commission was that the union as an administrative area had no future before it and that it deserved to be abolished. There were fifty-four thousand villages in the presidency and the fact that only four hundred unions were formed clearly demonstrated that even the fringe of the problem was not touched and that there was something inherently defective in it.

The causes of this slow growth were many. In the first place the unions were artificial units made up of a number of neighbouring villages, some small and some big. There was not any community of interest among them—the kind of interest which has always bound together the inhabitants living in a single Indian village. That in selecting administrative areas importance has to be attached to natural units was made clear by the failure of the unions to evoke any feeling of local patriotism. It happened in the next place that in several cases the interest of only the bigger village in the union were cared for and promoted while little heed was paid to the requirements of the smaller villages and the outlying hamlets although these contributed their share to the revenues of the union. In consequence of this the unions came to be regarded as mere tax-collecting agencies which did not bring any corresponding benefit to the tax-payers. People therefore were quite unwilling to have any further increase in the number of such unions. Even in cases where the union was co-terminous with a single village its financial resources were poor and it was not in a position to do much for the development of public health or education or communications in the village. The number of permissible taxes was small and people were not disposed to pay any additional contributions as the general notion was that all taxes were irksome. Even now the idea that a properly devised system of taxation would promote public welfare and is one of the best instruments of social prosperity is too remote from the understanding of the public; and much worse was the situation at the beginning of this century. In addition to all this the unions were not sufficientiy democratic and they had little freedom and independence. They were mere agents of the taluk board without any autonomy of their own. There is nothing strange that under such circumstances they ceased to command any popularity.

M. VENKATARANGAYA

THE BANKING PROBLEM IN INDIA

Critical Examination of the Banking Enquiry Committee's Report.

In the political turmoil in the midst of which the country now finds itself, in the evaluation of the consequences of the crisis that was precipitated in England resulting in the suspension of the gold standard, the Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee passed almost unnoticed. But the report is nevertheless a very comprehensive document, an interesting piece of literature and an elaborate recommendation and plea in favour of advancement in all directions in the banking sphere. The Committee was appointed in response to the wishes of the Central Legislature supplemented by the desires of the Indian and European commercial opinion with a view to find out what measures are necessary for extending banking facilities in the country and as presided over by Sir Bhupendranath Mitra. Ten Provincial Banking Committees were appointed to survey the problem with special reference to the needs of the agricultural industry, all of which have submitted very valuable reports which helped the Central Committee to arrive at far-reaching decisions. It was a unanimous report that the committee presented except in regard to Foreign Exchange Bank and the necessity for establishing an Indian Exchange Bank with state aid. There are separate notes as the one on Industrial Banks by Mr. N. R. Sirkar and another by Mr. Ramdoss Pantulu on the indigenous bankers, while Mr. Manu Subedar added a long minute of his own which differs in its main conclusions on many questions from the main report. Considering the essential and intimate connection that exists between the development of banking facilities and banking in general and the industrial and economic progress of the country, the recommendations of the committee ought to receive the utmost and serious consideration both from the Government and the public and some of them have to be implemented immediately if the constitutional changes that may emerge from the deliberations of the Round Table Conference are to be carried out successfully in an atmosphere favourable to such success.

The Need for Regulation of Foreign Banks.

The two most outstanding requirements of the Indian situation are the provision of cheap, adequate and long-term credit to the agriculturists for financing permanent and profitable agricultural inprovements and the supply of sufficient financial assistance to industries of an indigenous character. There is also a great and urgent demand for following a national policy in regard to currency and exchange questions and for the conservation in India's interests and for Indian enterprise, of the immense field of foreign exchange business carried on at present by the foreign exchange banks and the profits accruing to them therefrom. On all these matters, the Banking Committee's recommendations, as will be shown hereunder, run along lines advocated by Indian public opinion for a long time. It is true that the Foreign Banking experts attached to the committee, who by the way have been of immense help to the committee in the course of their deliberations, have demurred to some of the recommendations of that body especially to those relating to the financing of industries and the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank, though in regard to the first the committee have preferred to follow the dictates of their own experience supplemented by the unanimous decisions of the Indian Industrial Commission in recommending the establishment of State-aided Industrial Corporations and in regard to the second they have by a majority recommended the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank, to do the work now performed by the Foreign Exchange Banks.

If one considers the scant courtesy shown by the foreign exchange banks to Indian customers, the huge profits which they take away from India, the way in which they refuse to allow Indians to hold any responsible positions in them, the manner in which they do not discharge the obligations of letting the public into their confidence by periodical publication of their balance sheets, it will be realized how immense is the necessity for keeping them under proper check, for regulating their working and for making them conform to the provisions and requirements of the Indian Banking Law. Concurrently with devising measures for keeping the foreign banks under control, it is also necessary that an effort should be made to enable the indigenous banking institutions to take a longer and larger share in the financing of the country's foreign trade, which they are at present unable to do to the great detriment of the nation and handicap to the commercial community.

In this respect, the majority of the committee also have failed to grasp sufficiently the evils of a *laissez faire* policy in regard to foreign banking corporations, for they not only think that the facilities at present afforded by them are sufficient but also that a considerably long time must elapse before an institution with indigenous capital supplied by the State wherever and whenever necessary need be established. They however recognize that the agency now available for financing India's export trade is mainly foreign in character and that it cannot for ever continue to be so, but that if the Imperial Bank of India which, as has already been said, should be enabled to participate effectively in the promotion and financing of the foreign trade is unable to do so, then and then only should an Indian Exchange Bank with capital supplied by the Joint Stock Banks should be established. The majority also rule out of consideration the proposal that foreign exchange banks should be registered in India with rupee capital but recommended instead that local advisory committees should be established at each office of the foreign banks to make the management more sympathetic towards Indians.

But that these are all pious hopes and generous expectations which are bound to end in disappointment in the light of previous experience that we have of these banks is clear enough, and we have it on the authority of six members of the committee including Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Messrs. Khaitan, Ramdoss Pantulu, Shanmukham Chetty and Jamal Mohammad that the foreign exchange banks are in a very strong and entrenched position capable of out-competing any indigenous institutions working or that may work in the line, that the Joint Stock Banks with their limited resources and their intimate connection with the internal trade of the country are and would be unable to effectively participate in the finance of export trade also and that state support to any institution that may be started is absolutely essential if it is to be successful in its work and they have supported their arguments by summoning to their aid the expert opinion of Prof. J. M. Keynes. They therefore recommended the establishment immediately of an Exchange Bank with a capital of three crores of rupees, all to be taken up by the state. This bank according to them should do all the business now transacted by the foreign banks, its management should be in the hands of a Board of seven persons with Local Boards of five, all the Government remittance business should be transacted through the bank and finally in all matters where it operates in the open market it should act as an agent of the Reserve Bank which is to be established at the earliest possible moment. Side by side with the establishment of an exchange bank, steps should also be taken to regulate the operation and working of the foreign exchange banks on the line suggested by Mr. N. R. Sirkar in order to rectify the defects noted above and to reconstitute them in accordance with Indian Banking Law. Mr. Sirkar is also in favour of reserving the field of internal banking to Indian Joint Stock Banks, so as to prevent the Foreign Banks from encroaching into the legitimate sphere of these institutions; but an attempt to demarcate and sequester the essentially unified system of banking and the means of financing the internal and export trade of the country is unwise and ill-advised and ought not to be encouraged. One of the evils of the present system which permits of such sequestration is that the Indian money market is split up into two distinct branches resulting in chaos in the money market, since these two branches —the "European" and the "native," the first being identified with the foreign exchange banks and the second with the indigenous banking corporation—have remained in mutual ignorance of one another's doings; and it ought to be a matter for serious consideration if, in the interests of the economic regeneration of India, and in the interests of enabling of Indian talent hitherto confined to local interests to have a larger and more extensive field for action, it is not essential that these two branches should be unified and brought into a state of mutual and harmonious co-operation with each other. For this purpose the starting of an Indian Exchange Bank and linking of it with the local money-lenders and Joint Stock Banks is a desideratum besides its being the only possible and necessary remedy.

Reserve Bank.

At the time of instituting the enquiry into Indian Banking conditions, it was stated by the Finance Member to the Government of India that the enquiry would be of value in throwing light on the banking requirements of the country and in designing the central banking organization to meet those requirements. This statement is reflected in the proposal of the committee that the only method of linking up the various indigenous banking institutions of extending the banking facilities in the country and of meeting its banking requirements is by the establishment of a Reserve Bank. They have accordingly recommended the immediate establishment of such an institution with capital provided by the state and under Indian control, but free from the interference of the Executive or the Legislature in its day-to-day administration. Though there may be difference of opinion as to whether the Reserve Bank should be a state bank or a shareholder's bank, the overwhelming majority will be found to favour the former mode of constituting it ; and the foreign banking experts also have expressed the opinion that a Reserve Bank can function on sound lines whether it is formed as a state bank or a shareholder's bank provided it is kept free from interference by the Government in its ordinary administration. The functions of the Reserve Bank should be all-embracing in character, in its relationship to the banking system of the country; for while on the one hand it has to act as a bankers' bank co-ordinating the various banking institutions both private and joint stock, both indigenous and foreign, bringing them under a centralized control, it has on the other hand to look after the Government remittances in which it will function through the agency of the Exchange Bank, to take charge of the Government balances and act as the agent of the Government in the management and direction of the currency policy. The Reserve Bank should also make arrangements for safeguarding the interests of agriculturists by offering special facilities for the rediscounting of agricultural bills and by making advances on the security of agricultural produce.

While on the question of the Reserve Bank it is necessary to refer to another institution which plays a very important but unofficial part in the banking organization of the country and the proper mobilisation of which is essential for the economic progress of the country, *viz.*, the institution of the indigenous bankers. The indigenous banker has hitherto occupied an extra-legal position in India, without however the responsibilities attaching to the practice of his profession, and with no legal status other than that which he has carved out for himself by the part he plays in the credit structure of the country. Mr. Ramdoss Pantulu, one of the members of the Central Banking Committee, writes as follows in a separate minute on indigenous bankers : " I have from the outset of the enquiry felt that something could be done to confer on the indigenous banker, who carries on pure banking business, the legal status of a banker *quâ*-banker with the privileges and responsibilites affecting to such status. I can see no difficulty from a legal or banking standpoint to bring family partnerships of indigenous bankers as well as individual bankers with requisite resources within the scope of the Bank Act recommended by the Committee. It should not be difficult to fix standards of eligibility for registration as bankers and frame a set of banking regulations which are suitable to the peculiar conditions of such partnerships and bankers...Transform the private banker into an indigenous banker functioning under the law governing banks and bankers in this land, create a recognized field for indigenous banking as an honourable profession and make it an integral part of the country's banking system. That should be part of our plan to build up our modern banking structure on indigenous foundations and to supplement the joint-stock and co-operative effort in the banking sphere." What is needed and needed urgently is not the elimination of the indigenous banker by any means but his preservation and the devising of measures to enable him to fit himself into his proper place in the banking organization of the country. In the financing of the internal trade of the land and in providing credit to the agriculturists for their long-term agricultural needs, the private money-lender, who may in many instances be identified with the indigenous banker plays a rôle which cannot be expected to be adequately filled for a long time to come, by any substituted institution, if it is allowed to continue in its present condition of unregulated privilege and irresponsibility. The specific recommendations of the committee regarding indigenous bankers are highly commendable and deserve to be acted upon at the earliest possible moment, for they state that "all such indigenous bankers as are engaged in banking proper or are prepared to shed their business other than banking, should be eligible to be placed upon the approved list of the Reserve Bank in the same manner as joint-stock banks" and that "such indigenous bankers should also agree to have proper books of accounts kept in the usual manner and to have them audited annually by recognized auditors." They further recommend that "institutions receiving rediscount facilities from the Reserve Bank should not charge the public rates which in the opinion of the Reserve Bank, are unduly high." The most fundamental thing in regard to these indigenous bankers which necessitate their being brought within the sphere of the regularized banking system is that they charge rates, both of discount and interest, which in so far as they are unsupportably heavy necessitate steps being taken to make them conform to the standard rate fixed by the central banks; and the recommendations of the Banking Committee quoted here adequately meet that contingency and are calculated to remedy the defect. There is one last point which has to be noted before concluding this discussion and that is that it will not do, as the Committee apparently think it would, to allow the indigenous bankers freedom to come into the banking system on their own initiative; they must, if necessary, be constrained to do so by pressure of legislation.

Banks and Industrial Financing.

As has been stated already, the two outstanding problems connected with banking development are those which relate to the financing of Indian agriculture and Indian industry, in regard to both of which the need is for the provision of facilities for long-term credit. While it is true that the Joint-Stock Banks in the case of industries and the Co-operative Societies in the case of agriculture are the most suitable and appropriate agencies for providing credit facilities, it is also equally true that these two categories of institutions cannot by the very nature of their work and opportunities give credit on a long-term basis. The special agencies therefore that have to finance the agricultural industry are Land Mortgage Banks and those that have to finance the manufacturing industries are Industrial Banks or Corporations specially set up for the purpose, and it is these institutions that have to be established on a wide scale in the country.

Taking first the consideration of industrial financing we find that the majority of the Banking Enquiry Committee have recommended that "if Provincial Governments in the discharge of their responsibilites for the development of industries within their territories, find it necessary to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns, Provincial Industrial Corporations with branches if necessary should be established." Mr. Manu Subedar, one of the members of the Committee, has on the other hand recommended the immediate establishment of an All-India Industrial Bank with branches in the provinces; but if one bears in mind the experience of the Tata Industrial Bank and the unsuccessful career of some of the European Continental Banks designed solely to finance industrial undertakings one feels apprehensive regarding the success that may attend the working of such an institution in India. For instance the Central Bank of German industry founded in 1928 by different German State and private Banks for advancing long-term loans to industrial undertakings against mortgage is now in liquidation. At the same time, a significant change in the contrary direction has been evolving in England in which the pre-war banking practice had always been antagonistic to the principle of Banks accommodating industrial enterprises with long-term assistance, notwithstanding the fact that in orthodox financial and banking circles even in that country the traditional practice of aloofness from the business of industrial financing still persists to a certain extent. It is however even more significant of the change that is coming over England's outlook in the matter that even the Bank of England, the citadel of orthodoxy in the Banking organization of England, has now come to realise the essential imperativeness of a departure from its time-honoured practices, as witness the way in which the Governor of the Bank of England has taken the initiative in promoting the scheme known as the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, an ambitious project for the reorganization of the American section of the Lancashire Cotton Industry. But in spite of the slow transformation that has been noticeable in England, and in spite of the widely prevalent practice on the European Continent for Banks to provide long-term credit facilities to industries, we in India have to move cautiously in the matter, a point of view which justifies to a certain extent the opinion of the Foreign Experts attached to the Banking Enquiry Committee who, as has already been noted, refused to support the ideal of starting an Institution or institutions for the sole purpose of financing Indian industrial development.

Even so, however, the scheme of Provincial Industrial Corporations recommended by the Committee stands on a different footing and deserves careful consideration, so that, if after experience of their working, it is discovered that they function satisfactorily they could then be linked into an All-India Industrial Corporation. The local Joint Stock Banks and other financing institutions might be enrolled as share holders of the Corporations, though according to the recommendations of the Committee, the Provincial Governments are to bear the main burden of running these institutions.

The German method of financing industries, which is the best organized and the most efficient now in existence, gives us many points as to how to proceed in this matter. In that country, the bigger banks do not supply long-term credit from their capital resources or from their short-term deposit amounts as that might lead to a locking-up of their financial assets and interfere with the discharge of their obligations in respect of their ordinary day-to-day banking business. But they issue debentures and take in long-term deposits, the former being saleable in the market as securities and the latter payable in two or three years; and it is the capital thus secured that is utilized to finance the economic development and industrial expansion of the country. It is invariably the practice for banks financing industrial undertakings to have a hand, either direct or indirect in the organization and management of the businesses they assist by having one of their own directorate as a member of the supervisory boards of the latter or by acquiring considerable voting rights in them by holding a large number of their shares. This "interlocking of directorates" is a valuable bond binding together the banks and the industrial enterprises and gives the former a controlling influence over the working of the latter. The practice obtaining in Germany can be followed with advantage in India too and to ensure its successful working the first requisite is that the Provincial Governments which are to finance the Industrial corporations referred to above should have direct representation on the Board of Directors of the corporations and secondly the corporations' control over the Industries they finance should be ensured by their being represented in their turn on the directorates of the industries. The Central Committee's detailed recommendations in this connection are comprehensive and run along the lines outlined above, besides pointing out the direction which legislation should take to give effect to them. The fundamental points to bear in mind in this connection are firstly that India stands in need of a policy of rapid development of industries, secondly that to carry that policy to a successful consummation state aid is absolutely esssential and reliance could not be placed upon private initiative alone; and lastly that any measure adopted must conform to these two vital requirements.

Financing of Agricultural Requirements.

The Central Committee's recommendations regarding provision of facilities for financing agriculture are particularly wide and all-embracing and accord mostly with the suggestions adumbrated ever so many times by Indian economists and statesmen for relieving the agriculturists of their indebtedness which according to the Banking Committee's Report is stated to be £675,000,000 and for putting them on a secure basis as regards the availability of funds to defray expenditure on permanent improvements of land. The unconscionably high rates of interest charged by the local money-lenders which, according to the Agricultural and the Labour Commissions, are sometimes as high as 150%, tend to ruin the peasant and reduce him to pauperism within a short time, while the Co-operative Societies in the rural areas work with such limited resources that they can hardly be expected to compete with and much less to eliminate the money-lenders. The ordinary Co-operative Credit Society will therefore have to be allowed necessarily to confine itself to the dispensing of short-term and intermediate credit, and to provide long-term credit Land Mortgage Banks will have to be established. Many useful recommendations have been made by the Committee to serve as the basis for re-organizing the Co-operative Credit Societies as well as the Land Mortgage Banks so as to transform them into effective instruments for levelling up the financial and economic position of the Agriculturists. And though it is unnecessary to quote them *in extenso,* some of the more outstanding may be drawn attention to, so as to focus public opinion upon them. First as regards the Societies, the Committee declare that if a Society charges its members a higher rate than 12% per annum, it should form the subject of investigation by the Provincial Government and steps should be taken to reduce the rate of interest. Another recommendation which deserves notice is that which imposes an obligation upon the state to give temporary aid to co-operative societies in exceptional circumstances to tide over a financial crisis especially when the aid is necessitated by the requirements of the development of the agricultural industry, while a third one which also is important is that "in order to ensure the supply of cheap and adequate credit to agriculture, certain provisions should be made in the Reserve Bank Act for linking up the Co-operative Banks with the Central Bank of the country.

With regard to Land Mortgage Banks the committee suggest that—(1) No money should be advanced by Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks which is not economically profitable to the borrower and loans should be devoted to the principal objects specified. (2) The amount and period of each loan should be fixed with due regard to the repaying capacity of the borrower and also the purpose for which the money is advanced. Loans might be granted for a stated purpose and for the period the maximum period should be 20 years. With sound management the Bank should be able to extend the period to 30 years, if necessary. (3) Until more experience is gained the amount of an individual loan should be limited to a maximum of Rs. 5,000 and in no case should the amount of the loan exceed 50 per cent. of the mortgaged property, and (4) the repayment of loans should be by a system of equated payments, but if local conditions permit, a system of graduated payments may be adopted."

If we consider the practice followed in other countries in this matter of according long-term credit to agriculture we find that what the Land Mortgage Banks are expected to do in India is being performed by the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation in England by the Credit Foncier de France in France and by the Federal Land Banks in the U. S. A. As in the matter of financing of industries, so also here, the English traditional opinion was against Government actively participating in the financing of agriculture ; but the adverse circumstances which confronted agriculture in Britain in the post-war era desiderated the adumbration of a scheme for removing those difficulties. Mr. R. R. Enfield was put in charge of a Committee of the Department of Agriculture to investigate the problem which produced a report consummating ultimately in the passing of the Agriculturists Credit Act of 1928, under the provisions of which was created the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation referred to above. Ten leading Banking Houses of England including the Bank of England, Barclay's Banks, Lloyd's Bank and the Westminster Bank, have purchased shares in the Corporation while the Government have advanced to it monies to the extent of £650,000 besides paying £10,000 per year for ten years towards the cost of the administration. The interests of the State in the

Agricultural Mortgage Corporation while its loans are outstanding is guaranteed by the appointment of a nominee of the Treasury as one of its Directors and by the provision that no alteration in the Memorandum of Association of the Corporation should be made without the consent of the Ministry of Agriculture. It obtains its funds, in addition to what is got by the purchase of shares and by the loan from the Government, by the sale of debentures which are guaranteed by the State and are made Trustee securities. The debentures are to be redeemed by a cumulative sinking fund and the intention of the Corporation is expressed in the Preamble to the Act as " being the lending of sums to agriculturists at rates of interest not higher than those required by its expenditure." In other words, the success of the Corporation is not to be judged by the profits which it distributes to its shareholding banks but by the amount of the advances which it makes at low rates of interest to agricultural holders. Any surplus profit left over after paying the dividend of 5 per cent. to the shareholders will be utilized in making further loans on terms most favourable to the borrowers and in reducing the interest rates on existing loans, while loans may be made on good security up to a period of 60 years.

This rather long reference to the working of the English Land Mortgage Corporation and the methods of financing agriculture in England is made with a view to indicating the lines on which Land Mortgage Banks in India might work. The recommendations of the Central Banking Committee are in consonance, for the most part, with the methods pursued in England and wherever they are not so, they may be suitably modified. In this connection, two points need to be emphasized, first that the part which the Governments and the bigger banks have been playing hitherto in India to finance agriculture is very meagre and secondly that no attempt has been made to establish a Central Land Mortgage Bank for the whole country, and it is imperative that methods of improvement in both these respects will have to be carefully and seriously considered in the near future. Besides this, the following other reforms for improving the credit position of the agriculturists are also urgently required: (1) The proper and more liberal distribution of Takkavi loans by Government and loans under the Land Improvement Loans Act. (2) The limitation of the rates of interest chargeable by local money-lenders to a fixed maximum percentage, say 12 per cent. per annum, and the prevention of evasion of this provision by severely penalizing all defaulters. For this purpose the stricter interpretation and the administration of the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 and the adoption of legislation of the type of the Punjab Regulation of Account Act of 1930 by other Provincial Governments.

Before closing this discussion on the question of agricultural financing one last point remains to be touched upon, and that relates to the methods of agricultural improvement about which the Royal Commission on Agriculture made very commendable suggestions. The adoption of those suggestions will directly lead to the social, moral and material uplift of the agriculturists and make them better farmers than they have been till now and this uplift can be canvassed and exploited for improving their economic position. The propagation of rural education will result for example in the appreciation of the ideals of a better and hopeful life and in the promotion of habits of thrift and saving, and these habits in their turn can be organized into potential economic assets by the improvement of facilities for investment. Thus a general advancement of banking facilities will be called for and have to be provided, a work which again demands the initiative on the part of the Reserve Bank and the Government. Finally the constant and continuous study of the agricultural and industrial needs of the country should be undertaken by the Governments concerned by the establishment of bodies like the Economic Advisory Councils recommended by Sir Arthur Salter, Head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations Secretariate, and in a modified form by the Banking Enquiry Committee.

Banking Education.

If banking facilites in India are to be extended as it is stipulated they must be and if the banking institutions are to work successfully it is necessary to assure ourselves of a regular and adequate supply of properly trained men to man and run them on approved lines. To this end, there must be an increase in the provision for banking education in the Indian Universities, the co-operation of the Indian Institute of Bankers being sought to make it more consistent with the practical requirements of the Indian Banks and to give those studying for Commerce Degrees special opportunites for coming into contact with those who are in the practical field of banking by being afforded opportunities of listening to lectures on banking subjects from them and in other ways. Similarly, the committee recommend the formation of an All-India Bankers' Association to serve as a forum for the discussion of matters of common interest to banks and bankers and in which all Banking Corporations including indigenous bankers who enjoy rediscount facilities from the Reserve Bank should be entitled to full membership.

Conclusion.

Before concluding this already long review of the banking problems of India with special reference to the Report of the Banking Enquiry Committee, it has to be stated that there are several other matters relating to Indian Banking progress traversed by the Committee which it is not possible to discuss here owing to exigencies of space. The committee for example devote considerable attention to the problem of marketing and the movement of crops; and though only the financial aspects of the question concern them, they feel that improvement in other directions is essential in order to establish orderly marketing in India. In this connection they support the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission for the improvement of transport facilities the adjustment and lowering of Railway freight charges, the establishment of regulated markets, the standardization of weights and measures, the provision of licensed warehouses and lastly the co-ordination of the activities of the Provincial Marketing Boards through the agency of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

In other matters also the committee's recommendations, as has already been seen, are highly progressive. We have in the course of the article observed the various improvements recommended by the committee to ameliorate the position of the agriculturists who form a vast bulk of the Indian population and to relieve them of the octopus grip of indebtedness, and the enforcement of compulsory settlement of the standing agricultural debts by means of legislative enactment if necessary and whenever it is found by Government that a voluntary scheme of debt-conciliation is not taken up with favour by the money-lenders is not the least useful or beneficial of the methods to be tried in this connection. The committee are, it may be stated, not also against the establishment of an All-India Industrial Corporation for financing large-scale industrial concerns whenever its need is established to the satisfaction of the Indian Legislature.

One last feature which deserves mention and on the appreciation of which the Committee are to be congratulated is that they have been able to visualize the early establishment of a fully responsible Central Government and an equally fully responsible system of Government in the provinces. They have, as they point out in their introductory remarks, based all their recommendations on this fundamental assumption. This point is important in so far as it amounts to imposing a moral obligation and responsibility on the future Government of India to implement as many of the recommendations of the committee at as early a date as possible after its establishment; and while it is to be expected that steps will be taken even by the present Government to put into practice some of the more outstanding suggestions made, it is to be hoped at the same time that the future Government will discharge their duty in the regard fully and wholly.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

POEMS

Love and Duty.

I

O Duty stern, O joyous Love
Shall never cease your game ?
When one goes up, then other goes down
One's ash is other's flame,
O, end this game within and out
This see-saw has no worth,
It wrings the flesh, it burns the heart
Embrace to give Peace birth.

II

I bend my head, I lend my ear
The song unsound of Love to hear.

III

I'm Love at watch within thy heart
I'm Duty in thy mind
Impede not thou my joyous flow
O'er thee and all thy kiss.

IV

If thou with thee construct a dyke
To kill my gentle flow
I leap in flood, called Duty stern
For Peace serene to grow,
I find myself of Love the bier
I love sweet Love as Duty dear.

2

FAME AND LOVE.

I

O, what in me with pride I prize
    With silent claim for praise
From Thee are stolen. To hide thy name
    I'm lost in faithless image.
In silence if men pass me by
    Unlift admiring eye
I burn in fire of hate, contempt
    And sparks of ill-will fly.

II

By love forsaken what is life ?
The countless blades of poison-knife.

III

O, I pretend to have no care
    For praise of man or blame
I build and build a secret stair
    To glory-mount my name
    O, let me, let me die
To life's bewitching lie
Let me live or die in Thee
In love-sweet ecstasy.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE INDUSTRIAL BANK OF JAPAN

The question of "Industrial Banks" has engaged the attention of the leading economists of our country, ever since the Industrial Commission recommended their establishment for the development of Indian industries. Some of them seem to have been carried away by the splendid results achieved by the German banks in the field of economic progress and have wanted in India banks modelled on their lines. Others believe that the methods of the German credit banks cannot be adapted to Indian conditions. The conditions of India, they think, are greatly similar to those of Japan. Hence they are of opinion that an institution closely following the lines of the Industrial Bank of Japan should be established to develop the industries of the country. In a recent paper Dr. J. C. Sinha has remarked that the best course for us will be to start an institution mainly on the lines of the Industrial Bank of Japan.[1]

There seems to be a great deal of misconception as to the activities of the Industrial Bank of Japan with regard to industrial matters. Ideas are also widely current that the proud edifice of Japan's industrial progress was mainly built up by the Bank. In the present paper an attempt has been made to throw some light on the activities and working of this much talked-of institution. Incidentally, we shall investigate how far the bank has been responsible for the economic advance of the country and how far its working has been attended with success. It may also be necessary to destroy some prevalent illusions as regards the achievements of the Bank in the field of the country's industrial progress. The background of the paper has been gleaned from authoritative sources, as far as practicable. It is difficult to get access to much of the requisite material, for it is not available in the English language. The Consul for Japan very kindly furnished me with some valuable material obtained from authentic sources. In some cases information was sent for direct from the Head Office in Japan and in others certain things were translated into English from the original Japanese for my special benefit. My grateful thanks are due to him for all the trouble he has taken on my account.

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[1] See his paper on "Industrial Banking in India" in the "Indian Journal of Economics" Conference Number, 1931, p. 294.

II

The National banks were established in Japan in 1873 in pursuance of the National Bank regulations of 1872 which were closely patterned after the American system. A law passed in 1896 provided for the abolition of these national banks; and between 1896 and 1899 the 153 national banks scattered in various important cities were abolished and re-organised as ordinary banks. At the same time numerous ordinary banks were newly opened throughout the country. Though these were commercial in form and denomination, most of them were practically agricultural organs and were engaged in advancing money to the farmers on mortgages consisting of immovable property.

Prince Matsukata is the father of the present Japanese banking system. He enunciated the principle that distinct groups of banks should be established to fulfil different functions. Accordingly, after founding a central bank and an exchange bank, he turned his attention to the starting of banking institutions to facilitate the grant of long-term loans to industry and agriculture. The industrial development of the country had not proceded very far by the time of the Sino-Japanese War. But the victory over the Chinese gave a powerful stimulus to the economic life of the country. New enterprises came rapidly into existence and there arose on the part of their projectors a great demand for long-term financial assistance. It was beyond the province of the ordinary deposit banks to render such assistance. There was also at the time no large investing public in Japan. The conservative people were reluctant to invest their savings in industry and preferred to invest in land even though the rate of return might be lower in the latter. To satisfy this new demand for long-term industrial capital, the Industrial Bank was established, modelled on the lines of the French 'credit mobilier.'

The Government enacted the law of the Japan Industrial Bank in 1900 and the Bank began business in April, 1902. It is a Joint Stock Company and its capital was at first 10 million yen. By a revision in the Law of the Industrial Bank in 1906, the capital was raised to 17,500,000 yen, which could be increased with the approval of the Government.[1] The capital was subsequently increased to 30,000,000 yen in 1917 and again to 50,000,000 yen in 1919. The capital was fully paid up in 1922.[2] The Government of Japan does not participate in the capital of the Bank but it lends to the Bank enormous funds at a moderate rate of interest out of the resources of the Deposits Bureau, the great repository for public funds. There is one peculiar characteristic of the Industrial Bank which distinguishes it from the other public institutions. Early in the history of the Industrial Bank, a considerable portion of its shares came to be held by foreigners.[3] According to the Japan Year Book, 1924-1925, foreigners owned 7,500,000 yen of the Bank's capital.[4]

The Bank was established under Government control with a fifty-year charter, the renewal of the charter being at the option of the Government. The President and the Vice-President are appointed by the Government from among share-holders owning more than 200 shares in the Bank. Their term of office is fixed at 5 years. The Directors are appointed by the Government from among the candidates who hold more than 100 shares in the Bank, elected at the General Meeting of the shareholders. The number of the candidates which the meeting recommends is twice the number of necessary Directors. Their tenure of office is fixed at 3 years.[1]

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[1] Art. 2.

[2] The shares of the Industrial Bank have a par value of 50 yen. Prices have been declining [since 1922. From 1918 to 1927 they ranged from 94 yen (1920) to 30·40 yen (1927). The Imperial Household Department held 22,725 shares in 1929.

[3] See National Monetary Commission, 1910—Banking System of Japan, pp. 137 and pp. 156-57.

[4] Japan Year Book, 1924-25, p. 455.

The business of the Industrial Bank is as follows :—

(1) To make loans on the security of national bonds, prefectural or municipal loan bonds and companies' debentures and shares.

(2) To subscribe for and under write the issue of national and local bonds and companies' debentures.

(3) To receive deposits of money and accept articles of value for custody (the Bank receives deposits on fixed, current and special current account).

(4) To engage in trust business for mortgage debentures.

(5) To discount bills.

(6) To buy and sell clean and documentary bills of exchange.

(7) To make loans on security of mortgages created by virtue of special loans.

(8) To make on mortgages of ships or ships under construction loans which shall be redeemable by annual instalments within a period not exceeding 15 years or a fixed term of not more than 5 years.[2] (Added by law No. 26, March, 1918.)

(9) To make loans on shipbuilding materials or equipments.

(10) To subscribe for or under write shares of companies approved by the Minister of State for Finance.

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[1] Art. VII.

[2] According to Bye-Law, Art. 39 (3), ships accepted by the Bank as subjects of mortgages shall be only those which reckoning from the date of launching will be less than 25 years old at the date of payment of the last instalment of redemption and shall be covered by insurance.

(11) To float or subscribe for national loan bonds, prefectural and municipal bonds and companies' shares and debentures and to receive payments for the same and to effect the payment of principal and interest or dividends on the above.

(12) To make call loans or loans for a fixed term on security of sites and buildings belonging to factories or of residential land or buildings lying in localities where the City Planning Act is in force, provided that the total amount of such loans shall not exceed one-third[1] the amount of the Bank's paid-up capital.[2]

The mortgages accepted by the Bank shall be first mortgages, but this does not apply, if they may be converted into first mortgages in course of redeeming an old loan with a new loan furnished by the Bank or if additional mortgages are furnished to the Bank.[3]

To raise funds for the various operations enumerated above, the Industrial Bank was empowered to issue debentures not exceeding 10 times the paid-up capital. Such debentures including external and internal, it has been laid down, should not exceed the aggregate of the outstanding bank loans, discounted bills, national loan bonds, prefectural and municipal loan bonds, debentures and shares of companies owned and the gold and silver held by the Bank.[4] (As amended by Law No. 49, 1905, and Law No. 28 March, 1911.) But the Bank may issue debentures in excess of the above limit with the permission of the Minister of State for Finance in the event of supplying capital to public utility undertakings abroad.

It was laid down that the Bank should put aside at the end of each business year 8% or more of its net profit as a reserve for making up any deficit in its capital and 2% or more of the said net profit to maintain an even rate of dividends.[5]

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[1] Bye-Laws of the Bank (1930) put it at two-thirds.

[2] Financial and Economic Annual of Japan 1930, pp. 176-177.

[3] Art. 39 (2).

[4] Art. 12.

[5] Art. 17.

The Bank was established under Government control and with Government subsidy. It was put under the direct superintendence of the Finance Minister who was to appoint a Comptroller to supervise the business management of the Bank.[1] As regards subsidy, the Government undertook to guarantee a 5% return on the Bank's shares for the first five years, provided the amount of the subsidy did not exceed 5% of the paid-up capital.

III

In the beginning the Industrial Bank was chiefly interested in the heavy industries. The shipping, iron and steel, engineering and chemical industries used to receive long-term advances from the Bank. The cotton industry, it will be noticed, is absent from this list and the remarkable progress of that industry owes nothing to the assistance from the Bank. The industry is controlled by powerful firms whose extraordinary financial strength renders them absolutely independent of Government banks. A considerable portion of the Bank's advances was made to the newly established and weaker industries in which the Government was keenly interested. Thus the Bank was closely associated with the shipbuilding industry of the country. The Government liberally helped the industry through it. The Kawasaki Shipbuilding Company, the Kokusai Steamship Company and other concerns received a considerable amount of financial assistance from the Bank. During the War, when the shipbuilding industry was on the highest wave of prosperity the Bank, along with the ordinary banks, invested heavily in the industry. But during the slump that followed in the wake of the boom, a large portion of the Bank's advances on security of ships became unrealizable, many shipping companies being unable to pay interest on their loans. Hence the Bank was compelled to discontinue its policy of making advances to shipping companies for several years. It was only in 1929 that the Bank was reported to resume the activity. A sum of 2,800,000 yen was advanced on the security of seven medium-sized vessels. The advances were for less than 15 years and bore interest at 8 or 8½%.[1]

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[1] Art 19-24.
Art 26.

The annual reports of the Bank show that it has rendered financial assistance to numerous public utility companies and important industrial enterprises such as (1) railways, (2) electric power, (3) paper, sugar and cement manufacturing, (4) water power and (5) motor bus concerns. The specific companies which received assistance from the Bank in recent years are the following :[2]—

1. The South Manchurian Railway
2. Ina Electric Company
3. Formosa Electric Power Company
4. Ibigawa Electrical Company.
5. Morioko Electric Light Company
6. Shinano Electric Company
7. Komatsu Electric Company
8. Tobu Electric Power Company
9. Ujigawa Electric Company.[3]
10. Fuji Paper Manufacturing Company.
11. Iwaki Cement Company.
12. Teikok Sugar Manufacturing Company.
13. Hakusan Water Power Company.
14. Tokio Rope Manufacturing Company.
15. Japan Fertilizer Company.
16. City of Tokio Motorbus Enterprise.
17. Nipon Yasuen Kaisha.

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[1] Japan Advertiser, May, 1929.

[2] Herbert M. Bratter, Japanese Banking. U. S. Dept. of Commerce (1931), Trade Promotion Series No. 116.

[3] The Industrial Bank helped it in the flotation of a 14 million dollar loan in the United States.

During the industrial crisis of 1930, the Industrial Bank generously came to the rescue of several big industrial companies who were in dire straits. Some of the most important industrial concerns were in great difficulties to meet not only their working expenses but also debentures and finance bills placed in the market which were due for repayment. When prices were rapidly falling and the market for securities was suffering a severe collapse, the ordinary banks naturally hesitated to finance the business concerns who were in such a plight. The Industrial Bank, with the tacit approval of the Minister of Finance and also of the Governor of the Bank of Japan, undertook to finance these companies and actually advanced them a lump sum of 70,000,000 yen.[1]

IV

The special technical department of the Bank carries on very stringent investigations into its industrial undertakings, and loans are granted on the advice of that department. This technical department, we must hasten to point out, is not however, so highly organized as that of the German banks or the investment houses of America. In the former years, we have already seen, the policy of the Bank was to extend assistance mainly to the large industries. An application for a loan on their part was judged not so much on the merits of the security offered but by the potentialities of the industry in question and the business reports of the applying company. During the panic of 1927, the Bank found that it had to make readjustments in connection with large amounts of its advances and had to take over land and buildings worth half in value of what it had actually loaned.[2] Since that time, the Bank has considerably revised its loan policy. More attention is now directed to security values. Besides, assistance is no longer confined to the larger industries only. Ever since the earthquake of 1923 the Government has followed the policy of extending financial assistance to small borrowers through the industrial bank. The difficulties of the smaller and medium-sized industries in securing financial accommodation have been engaging increasing attention from the Bank. In recent years, specially after the crisis of 1927, the Bank has adopted an active policy of assistance to such concerns; and its loans to such borrowers have been rapidly expanding. In the half-year ending December, 31, 1927, the Bank advanced 12,390,000 yen to smaller industries out of a total loan of 307,794,000 yen.[1] President Suzuki stated in the 54th Report of the Bank that in 1928 the Bank advanced 28,487,000 yen (in 1,764 accounts) to these out of a total loan balance of 323,824,000 yen at the end of the term.[2] In 1929 the Japan Advertiser reported that small and medium-sized industries received 35,972,000 yen (in 2,882 accounts).[3] These advances were given on the security of factories, machineries and real estate. We give below a list of small industries which have received financial assistance from the Bank[4]:—

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[1] The Times Trade and Eng. Supplement. Banking No, June 27, 1931, p. 27.

[2] Land and buildings valued at 1,250,000 yen were taken over by the Bank in 1928 in connection with a loan of 2,600,000 yen to Takata Shokai.

	Small industries.		Total advances.	No. of accounts.
1.	Machinery Manufacturing	...	6·0	217
2.	Chemicals	...	4·9	299
3.	Saw Milling	...	4·7	217
4.	Printing and Book-binding	...	4·3	289
5.	Spinning and Weaving	...	4·0	401
6.	Foodstuffs	...	3·7	319

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[1] Fifty-second Report of the Industrial Bank, pp. 5-6.

[2] Fifty fourth Report of the Industrial Bank, p.

[3] Japan Advertiser, December 29, 1929.

[4] H. M. Bratter. Japanese Banking, *op. cit.*, p. 181. The Industrial Bank maintains a separate account entitled "Special fund for petty merchants and manufacturers."

The Deposits Bureau of the Government decided after the panic of 1927 to loan 50 million yen to small borrowers through the Industrial Bank, the Hypothec Bank and the Co-operative Societies Central Bank. The rate of interest for these loans was 5 to 6½ and the maximum was limited to 3,000 yen. It was further reported in 1930 that the Industrial Bank was extending its branches in the rural districts and was considering the reduction of the minimum loan from 300 to 200 yen.[1] This policy of the Bank towards the smaller industries stands in marked contrast with that of the big credit banks of Germany. The latter have done very little for the German craftsmen and small manufacturers. Indeed their neglect of such types of industry has made them open to the criticism of favouring the annihilation of smaller enterprises in the interests of the greater monopolies. The assistance rendered by the Japan Industrial Bank to small industries after the earthquake and the crisis of 1927 has been very great. Emergency loans with a special lower rate of interest advanced by the Bank did much to rehabilitate the devastated areas. In view of all this, the information given by the foreign experts to the Indian Central Banking Committee that the Bank does not try to finance small industries is clearly incorrect.[2]

V

Let us now turn to the question of the resources of the Bank. Where does it get its volume of loanable funds? It depends for its loanable funds chiefly on the issue of debentures. The laws of incorporation empower the bank to raise its funds by issuing debentures up to 10 times its paid-up capital. It issues its own debentures both at home and abroad. As regards its loans floated in foreign countries, the Government guarantees the capital redemption and interest payment of such debentures, whenever the occasion requires such a step.[1]

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[1] Japan Advertiser, June 6, 1930.

[2] Report of the Foreign Experts, Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, p. 638 (Vol. I, Part I).

The Bank issues not only its own external and internal debentures but also lends its assistance in the flotation of loans for Japanese industrial companies and for local bodies as well as on behalf of the Government both in the home and foreign markets. As regards its issue of foreign loans, it is evident that the bank was designed to introduce foreign capital into the country. Its first external loan was an issue of £2,000,000 floated in England and France in 1908 at 97.[2] During the first eleven years of the Bank's existence as much as 350 million yen (£35,000,000) was raised abroad for financing Japanese enterprises.[3] This sum included :

50 million yen raised for Government
140 ,, ,, ,, ,, Municipalities for public works
135 ,, ,, ,, ,, South Manchurian Railway.

As further instances of loan issues in foreign markets for industrial companies and on behalf of local bodies we may mention the issue of sterling debentures in London of the South Manchurian Railway of 1907, 1908 and 1911.[4] and the issues of a £ 6,000,000 loan in London for the City of Tokio, of a $ 22,000,000 loan in New York at 99¼ to mature in 1927 and of a $ 19,740,000 loan in New York for the City of Yokohama.[5] The total amount of external debentures issued by the Bank still outstanding was 10,129,000 yen in 1928.[6] The issue of own debentures of the Industrial Bank has been increasing from

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[1] Source, The Consul of Japan.

[2] Twenty-fourth Semi-annual "Table of Bonds and Debentures compiled by the Industrial Bank."

[3] G. C. Allen, Modern Japan and its Problems, p. 166.

[4] Financial and Economic Annual of Japan 1923 pp. 50-51

[5] Financial and Economic Monthly, February 1927, p. 19.

[6] Bank of Japan's "Economic Statistics of Japan," 1928, p. 62. The External debentures outstanding (in millions of Yen) : 1923—10, 1924—54, 1925—54, 1926—54, 1927—10,

1905 towards the close of the last Great War. The highest point was reached in 1923, the year of the Earthquake. The enormous funds thus obtained by the Bank were utilised in restoring the vast areas devastated by the earthquake. We give below a list of the annual debentures issues of the Bank as well as the total amount outstanding at the end of each year.[1]

Year.	Debentures issued.	Outstanding.
1905	1,000,000	...
1910	10,162,000	36,718,000
1914	5.000,000	56,689,460
1919	35,000,000	232,610,000
1920	86,000,000	307,000,000
1921	107,000,009	361,000,000
1922	34,000.000	289,000,000
1923	125,000,000	308,000,000
1924	120,600,000	322,000,000
1925	59,200,000	286,000,000
1926	36,600,000	271,000,000
1927	69,000,000	248,000,000
1928	89,000,009	273,000,000

VI

In the matter of underwriting and floating debentures, the Bank sometimes acts alone and sometimes in close co-operation with other banks. The formation of banking syndicates in underwriting operations is reminiscent of the practice of the German banks. But the banking syndicates of Japan are not so perfectly organized as their German rivals. There are at present about fifteen banks[1] including the Industrial Bank, the Bank of Japan and the "Big Five," which usually act in close association for the floating of national, municipal and industrial securities. The Industrial Bank underwrote, among others, the following loans alone in recent years :

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[1] The Financial and Economic Annual of Japan (1915-1928). Also Economic Statistics of Japan, pp. 60 and 18-19,

Azumi Electric Company second debentures	1 Million Yen
Seibn Railway Company second debentures	3½ Million Yen
Seibn Railway Company third debentures	3 Million Yen

The Syndicate operations of the Bank have been numerous. It has underwritten and floated a large number of loans in co-operation with 5, 8, 9 and even 15 banks on behalf of municipal and national governments of Japan as well as railway and other industrial companies. Thus it formed a syndicate with 9 other banks for the issue of South Manchurian Railway debentures, with 8 others for the issue of the debentures of the Oriental Development Company and with 5 others for the issue of Tokio Municipal Loans.[2] We give below some of the recent underwriting operations of the Industrial Bank in Syndicates with other Banks.

(1)	City of Tokio Water Works and Drainage 3rd loan bonds	12,286,000 yen
(2)	South Manchurian Railway Company 27th debentures	50,000,000 yen
(3)	Daido Electric Power Company 7th debentures	19,910,000 yen
(4)	Hakusan Hydro Electric Power Company debentures	4,000,000 yen
(5)	Kokusai Steamship Company 2nd debentures	2,500,000 yen.

VII

We have already observed that the industrial Bank played in the earlier years of its inspection an important part in the introduction of foreign capital into the country. In more recent times the Bank has been instrumental in investing Japanese capital abroad, especially in China. The Government encouraged this policy of the Bank by guaranteeing its profits on foreign investments within a limit of 100 million yen. The Bank has also been the medium through which the deposits Bureau lent enormous sums to several Chinese enterprises. For example, 7,500,000 yen were advanced to the Nanjin Railway, 9,600,000 yen to the Ton Industrial Company, 2,051,000 yen to Han Yea Ping Company, etc., such investments of the Deposits Bureau through the Bank totalling 128,000,000 yen.[1] In association with the Bank of Taiwan, Bank of Chosen and other Japanese banks, the Industrial Bank has participated in numerous loans to Chinese Governments and enterprises. Between June and September 1918, the Bank advanced a 10 million yen loan to Kirin Hueing Railway, a 30 million yen mine and forestry loan and another loan to the Kaomi-Hsuchow Shunteful Tsinantu Railway. Several million yen have also been advanced to the following development companies formed to finance Sino-Japanese industrial enterprises in China, *viz.*, the Toa Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha, the Chuicho Jitsugyo Kabushiki Kaisha and Niku Boshaku Kabushiki Kaisha. The Bank, in addition, participated in famous " Nishihara " and other loans to the Chinese Governments.

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[1] Yokohama, the Bank of Chosen, Dai-ichi, Mitsui, Yasuda, Kawasaki and one hundreth, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yamaguchi, Konioke, Nagoya, Aichie, Meijie and the Industrial Bank.

[2] Financial and Economic Monthly of Japan, December 1922, p. 3.

This policy of foreign investments pursued by the Industrial Bank since the War is somewhat similar to the participations of the German Banks in loans to foreign governments and enterprises. But in the case of the Japanese Bank, there is nowhere to be found the success achieved by the German banks nor their insistence for a *quid pro quo* for the interests of their associated industrial companies at home. A considerable portion of the Bank's loans to Chinese Governments and enterprises has become " froxen " and unrealisable.

SAROJKUMAR BASU.

(*To be Continued*)

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[1] Herbert Bratter, Japanese Banking, p. 182, p. 283.

O TIBETANS, O NEPALESE

I love these folk whose honest eyes
Are amber pools of mysteries ;
What though in tattered rags they hold
Communion with dirt against the cold?
A regal rank, a kingly worth
Lurks in their comradeship with earth,
And though they bear in shine and cloud
Their gaunt want like a flapping shroud,
By mind acclaims with heart and lip
The bond of spirit comradeship.

O Tibetans, O Nepalese,
Brown voyagers on cloudy seas,
I, too, have known how bleak winds sweep
From sunrise peaks of frozen sleep ;
I, too, have peered where eagles scream
Beyond the farthest crag of dream ;
I, too, have heard in cloud and shine
The unseen pinions of the divine,
And in my rags shrank to behold
God's laughter on a peak of cold.

Wada Oliver

Reviews

The Road Back, by Erich Maria Remarque. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 1931.

When Mr. Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" was published, it was hailed as a great warbook, giving the story of the World War, as experienced by a German soldier. The book was so universal in its appeal that even the French nationalist paper, "L'Action Francaise," spoke of it "as a book which surpasses all other war books in its cruel truth"; and "Monde" thought that the book contained such lessons that "it should be distributed by the million and read in every school." A careful reader will find that Mr. Remarque's new book "The Road Back" is far superior to his first work which attracted world attention.

"The Road Back" is not a mere description of varied experience of several German soldiers who, after the World War, tried "to find a road back" to normal life; but it is a great human document good for any and all countries. It is a descriptive sociology and psychology. It is a powerful indictment of our present-day social order; yet it is written without malice, and hatred. It is a vivid picture of misery—material as well as spiritual—of men after the World War. (This misery has not disappeared.) The author, without dogmatism, but with philosophic calm presents a programme for bringing about a better social order which can be accepted by all.

As a piece of literature, it is of priceless value, because it reveals the author's wonderful ability to give gripping word-pictures of the most delicate type of human experiences of heroism, passion and idealism, as well as communion with nature. Mr. Remarque, by this work, has enriched world literature. It should be recorded that Mr. Wheen who has translated the book into English from German is also a man of rare ability. If Mr. Remarque may be compared to a great singer, Mr. Wheen is a very great and accomplished accompanist. The book should be read by all to realise the full value and no review can give an adequate idea of its greatness.

"The Road Back" opens with the picture of the last engagement of the World War, in which a group of German soldiers participated; and in which a farmer, who survived four years of war, and who was hoping to go home to meet his wife was killed, just before the fighting ceased. Before leaving the field the thought of the departed comrades overcame the surviving ones. They left the field like haunted beasts.

One of the scenes makes us believe that there was very little vindictiveness or hatred among the common soldiers of various nations who were, under peculiar circumstances, forced to kill one another. It is the "pen-pushing Napoleons" and arm-chair patriots who spread the venom of hate among nations. Sometimes they glorify war for their personal gain.

War and revolution did not bring any real and far reaching change in Germany. There was class hatred, there was racial hatred—a glimpse of an officer hating a common soldier, because he was a Jew. There was the heart-rending and sickening scene of civil-war—the civic guards mowing down the starving strikers and supposed revolutionists by machine-gun. The heroic efforts on the part of some of the ex-soldiers to stop this barbarous tragedy are beautifully described. In the midst of all these, the author gives us a few jewels of an idealist, a champion of the poor, an ex-soldier, a Jew who became a victim of the shot fired by his own former officer.

On reaching home, the soldiers found that they could not adjust themselves even to their old home-environments. Father, mother, sister, brother even sweetheart did not have the faintest idea of the changes wrought in them in four years in battlefields and trenches. They were absolutely misunderstood! They found although the "war was over," yet as if the whole society was waging a new and terrible war on them. After the war, or as a direct effect of the war, came an era of terrible excess—selfishness and abuse of every form—which crushed them. In many cases the comradeship of the battle front, possibly the most precious thing in their life, disappeared. This became apparent in the ex-soldiers' reunion, when the rich and well-to-do soldiers and officers did not feel the comradeship for the poor and those who could not adjust themselves.

"Those others here are still our comrades and yet no longer—that is what is so sad. All else went west in the war, but comradeship we did believe in; now only to find that what death could not do, life is achieving, it is driving us asunder." (P. 200.)

While ex-service men "war-heroes" were facing starvation, their relations were busy in profiteering. Murder, suicide among the ex-soldiers, some of the finest type of youngmen, became common; because they lost their nerves. They were victims of circumstances; they failed " to find a road back to life-" The author gives graphic account of society, in its ignorance and selfishness, dealing cruelly with those who deserved such treatment the least. Through the mouth of Lieutenant Ludwig Beyer, one of the finest characters of the book, the author gives expression of disappointment of many ex-soldiers, regarding the revolution and the terrible awakening.

" Look at the way they are at one another's throats—Social Democrats, Independents, Spartacists, Communists! And in the meantime the other fellows are quietly potting off what few real brains they have among them, and they don't even see it " (p. 212).

"And why is it, Georg? Why is it? Because we were duped, I tell you, duped as even yet we hardly realize; because we were misused, hideously misused. They told us it was for the Fatherland, and meant the schemes of annexation of a greedy industry.—They told us it was for Honour and meant the quarrels and the will to power of a handful of ambitious diplomats and princes.—They told us it was for the nation, and meant the need for activity on the part of out-of-work generals!...Can't you see? They stuffed out the word Patriotism with all the Twaddle of their fine phrases, with their desire for glory, their will to power, their false romanticism, their stupidity, their greed of business, and then paraded it before us as a shining ideal! And we thought they were sounding a bugle summoning us to a new, a more strenuous, a larger life. Can't you see, man? But we were making war against ourselves without knowing it! Every shot that home, struck one of us! Can't you see? Then listen and I will bawl it into your ears. The youth of the world rose up in every land, believing that it was fighting for freedom! And in every land they were duped and misused; and in every land they were shot down, they have exterminated each other! Don't you see now? There is only one fight, the fight against the lie, the half-truth, compromise against the old order. But we let ourselves be taken in by their phrases; instead of fighting against them, we fought for them. We thought it was for the Future. It was against the Future. Our future is dead; for the youth is dead that carried it......A generation of hope, faith, of will, strength, ability, so hypnotised that they have shot down one another, though over the whole world they all had the same purpose. ......(even here) the war still goes on—but a dirty, low-down war—every man against his fellow (pp. 213-215).

One of the ex-soldiers, to make a living, tries many professions and at last becomes a teacher. He finds the terrible waste in the so-called education which often kills personality, vitality and life in the " frank, unspoiled and unsuspecting youth." This teacher's meditations are singularly powerful. To quote a few passages:—

"Here I stand before you, one of the hundreds of thousands of bankrupt men in whom the war destroyed every belief and almost every strength. Here I stand before you, and see how much more alive, how much more rooted in life you are than I. I stand and must now be your teacher and guide. What should I teach you? Should I tell you that in twenty years you will be dried-up and crippled, maimed in your freest impulses, all pressed mercilessly into the selfsame mould ? Should I tell you that all learning, all culture, all science is nothing but hideous mockery, so long as mankind makes war in the name of God and humanity with gas, iron, explosive and fire?. What should I teach you then, you little creatures who alone have remained unspotted by the terrible years?...Should I explain to you that the books you hold in your hands are but nets with which men design to snare your simple souls, to entangle you in the undergrowth of fine phrases, and in the barbed wire of falsified ideas? I stand here before you, a polluted, a guilty man and can only implore you ever to remain as you are, never to suffer the bright light of your childhood to be misused as a blow flame of hate..." (pp. 252-254).

The seventh part of the book is simply a masterpiece. Mr. Remarque rose to the very height of his ability to meditate and to be one with nature; it gives an inkling of the philosophy of his life. Ernst (through whom the author speaks), thinking of his dead friend says:—"Ah, Ludwig! we looked for a purpose, and tripped over ourselves; we did not find it.........But it is true that we do not yet know what surrender is; we have not felt its strength. We know only power " (p. 311). Another comrade says:—

"I've had a look at most things, Ernst—Professions, Ideals, Politics—but I don't fit into the show. What does it amount to? Everywhere profiteering, suspicion, indifference, utter selfishness......Like spiders, they lurk there in their offices, their shops, their professions, each one of them ready to suck the other man dry. And then the rest hanging over each one of them—families, societies, authorities, laws, the State! One spider's web over another! True, one may call that life, if one likes, and a man may pride himself on crawling about under it his forty years and more; but I learned at the Front that time is not the measure of Life...... p. 314).

Mr. Remarque is by no means a pessimist or a man lost in his "road back to life" through despair and lack of strength to face the terrible conditions. He has a constructive programme. The message of this great book is to instil hope and courage, after all trials and tribulations, for the sincere but despondent who must use his best efforts—however feeble—for a better social order. He writes:—

"I look quietly and composedly out into the darkness, for I am not afraid of the past no longer...I send my thoughts back into the dug-outs and shell holes—but when they return they bring back neither fear nor horror with them, but only strength and will. I have awaited a storm that should deliver me, pluck away and now it has come softly, even without my knowledge. But it is here. While I was despairing, thinking everything lost, it was already quietly growing.................................Now I know that growth also is division. And growth means relinquishing. And growth has no end. One part of my life was given over to the service of destruction; it belonged to hate, to enmity, to killing. But life remained in me. And that in itself is enough, of itself almost a purpose and a way. *I will work in myself and be ready; I will bestir my hands and my thoughts. I will not take myself very seriously nor push on when sometime I should like to be still......Not every one need be a pioneer; there is employment for feebler hands, lesser powers.* It is there I mean to look for my place. Then the dead will be silenced and the past not pursue me any more; it will assist me instead... But to-day I know that all life is perhaps only a getting ready, a ferment in the individual, in many cells, in many channels, each for himself; and if the cells and channels of a tree but take up and carry further the onward-urging sap, there will emerge at the last rustling and sunlit branches—crowns of leaves and freedom. I will begin now......It will be a road like other roads, with stones and good stretches, with places torn up, with villages and fields—a road of toil. And I shall be alone. Perhaps sometimes I shall find some one to go with me a stage of the journey—but for all of it, probably no one..." (pp. 341-343).

Sustained by this philosophy of work and toil we all must find the road back to life. In our dreary hours of existence, we must toil for a better life and social order. This message is for us all, specially those who have lost the road of life and those who have not yet experienced the bitter experience of life. The author has a living faith in a brighter world which will be the work of the youth—the new and future generation. Will they pay heed to this message of life, peace and freedom?

TARAKNATH DAS

The Central Authority in British India (1774-1784). By A. P. Das Gupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo. pp. 12+368, Calcutta University.

In this volume of about 350 pages, the author discusses the relations of the Presidency of Madras with that of Bengal which after the passing of the Regulating Act became the repository of the supreme authority in India vested in the Governor-General and his Council. The genius of Clive had turned a foreign trading company into the ruling authority of a rich and populous Province like Bengal. Transformed into a ruling power the officials of the English merchant company could not easily give up their mercantile outlook and the financial difficulties of the company made the British ministry intervene in its affairs. The Regulating Act was the first notable effort of the British Ministers to give a constitution to the Empire which had almost unconsciously fallen into the hands of the English people. They created a central authority and located it in Bengal and subordinated the two other Presidencies to it. But the measure which erected this authority did not define its powers and functions and the nature of its control was laid down in the vaguest possible terms. The result was a conflict between Bengal and the two Presidencies in which not only a tradition of local independence militated against the newly created authority but also there worked a natural desire for free hand justified by the circumstances of the period. The course of this conflict pointed out the defective organisation called into existence and not until the next important Act of Parliament, in 1784 a real and workable system came into existence.

Dr. Das Gupta, whose work is divided into seven chapters devotes himself mainly upon the relations between Calcutta and Madras. He gives us a detailed account of the dealings beween Warren Hastings and the Governors and Council of Madras. In each chapter, he carefully analyses the evidence for his readers and sums up judicially the case presented by either side in these disputes. All the episodes in an almost permanent struggle—namely struggle between Hastings and Rumbold, the suspension of Whitehill and the temporary supremacy of Hastings and the reaction—are all carefully described and, in each chapter, we have the author's summing up as well as critical remarks. In the concluding chapter the learned author presents a case for stronger Central authority.

We hope that this volume will be appreciated by all students of the history of British India and its early problems. The young author must be given that credit for lucidity and impartiality which he possesses and we hope that his subsequent volumes will be equally interesting and well written.

N. C. B.

Growth and Tropic Movements of Plants. By Jagadish Chunder Bose, Longmans, Green and Co. 1929, pp. 447.

The book under review forms yet another valuable addition to the contributions already made by the distinguished author to the cause of science. The study of the physiology of plants, which the rare genius of Sir J. C. Bose has turned into a deeply instructive and interesting subject, has been followed up in this treatise in his usual inimitable way. The earlier chapters contain a brief description of the highly sensitive instruments employed by Sir Jagadish in his investigations. The High Magnification Crescograph and the Balanced Crescograph, as also the Electric Probe and such other essential appliances have been explained in detail, rendering reference to previous works unnecessary, for the purpose of following the line of thought contained in the present volume.

The influence of radiant heat on the rate of growth of plants has a deep significance in tropical countries. It is certain that quantitative measurements in this interesting study have only been made possible by the invention of such sensitive instruments, which can magnify movements 10,000 times. For different plants, optimum temperatures have been worked out but the list, for obvious reasons, is still incomplete, and we must look to the band of selfless workers under the guidance of their brilliant Director for its gradual expansion in course of time.

The effect of different chemicals on the growth of plants is likely to fascinate the chemist more than anything else. It is instructive to learn that different anæsthetics like chloroform, ether, etc., act on the plant tissues in much the same way as on animals, and in many cases, enhancement which immediately follows the administration of the drug in small quantities, quickly gives place to marked set-back and even to complete paralysis, when the doses are increased. It is not difficult to draw a similar analogy from the animal kingdom and thus to establish the essential unity of Life, which, after all, is the great message Sir Jagadish has to deliver to the scientific world. The effect of electric stimulus on growth is next investigated in detail. Plants, it seems, are far more sensitive to this sort of stimulus than animals and the effect of shock of an intensity below the range of human perception will cause quite an appreciable effect on the plants.

The effect of light on growth, quite apart from photo-synthesis, forms an absorbingly interesting study. It is pleasing to contemplate that while physical chemists, all over the world, are trying to depict the mechanism of absorption of light by plants, Sir Jagadish is working at the visible physiological effects produced by actinic energy. Work of this description would naturally hold forth the bright prospect of fusion of knowledge derived from biological investigations on the one hand and purely physical studies on the other, to the mutual advantage of both. It has all along been Sir Jagadish's endeavour to achieve this end, and posterity will judge how far he has succeeded in effecting this happy consummation. The rest of the book is devoted to a critical study of the various factors affecting the growth of plants. The section dealing with wireless waves will be found most interesting. It will be news to many that wireless waves not only excite our receiving sets but also affect the growth of plants coming in their way. The chapter on diurnal movements of plants is of especial interest. Such movement, the author explains, is the resultant effect of a number of factors, *viz.*, heat, light, gravity, etc. The case of the well-known Praying Palm of Faridpur has been aptly discussed in detail, and the conclusion arrived at by the author seems to indicate that the movement can be wholly attributed to fluctuation of temperature of the surrounding air. The movement of the mimosa leaf next receives its due share of attention. The remaining chapters deal with the interesting subject of geotropism in its various phases and the parts played by the organs in communicating stimulus from one point to another.

It is difficult to convey an idea about the worth of a book of this type in a few lines. The name of the distinguished author and his previous publications in the subject are themselves sufficient guarantee of its high standard of excellence. Written in a lucid language, free from scientific technicalities, the book is sure to appeal to a far wider circle than the limited group of people actually engaged in scientific investigation.

S. K. M.

Inorganic Chemistry, by T. Martin Lowry. Second Edition, 1931. Macmillian and Co., Limited, pp. 1101. 23 shillings net.

The appearance of a new edition of Dr. Lowry's book on Inorganic Chemistry is particularly welcome to students of chemistry. As the author rightly observes in the Introduction, the old idea of exclusiveness of any particular branch of chemistry has been exploded in recent years, and study of inorganic chemistry no longer constitutes mere memorising of dry facts concerning properties of a number of substances and their modes of manufacture. The book under review aims at filling the gap between elementary treatises studied in English schools on the one hand and the more comprehensive volumes which are admittedly books of reference on the other. It may be said without hesitation that the volume has admirably served the purpose which the author had set before him.

A special feature of the book is the space devoted to consideration of physico-chemical problems having a direct bearing on inorganic chemistry, and the information given under these heads is invariably complete and up-to-date. The treatment of electrolytic dissociation, structure of atoms and crystals, radio-activity, etc., to quote only a few, leaves little to be desired. Proper justice has also been done to the orthodox inorganic chemistry, and subjects like fixation of nitrogen, glass and porcelain manufacture, extraction of metals have been exhaustively treated. All these features serve to make the book extremely useful to students preparing for the B.Sc. Honours examination of our universities.

S. K. M.

Jainism in North India—800 B.C.—526 A.D. by Chimanlal J. Shah M.A., Longmans, Green & Co. 1932, 292 pages. Price £2-2*s*.

The present book forms No. 6 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It is a detailed history of the non-Brahmanical Sect of Jainism from its origin in 800 B.C. to the end of the Gupta period (526 A.D.). The book is divided into eight chapters dealing with Jainism before Mahavira, Mahavira and his Times, Jainism in Royal families, Jainism in Kaliṅgadeśa, Mathura Inscriptions, the state of Jainism during the Gupta period, Jaina literature of the North and last of all Jaina Art in the South.

The author in his Introduction justly regrets that of all Indological studies "Jainism has been particularly unfortunate in that the little that is done for it stands in vivid contrast with the vast undone." We have had practically no serious study on Jainism besides the penetrating analysis of the Jaina Siddhānta by Weber, the observations made by Jacobi in his introductions and editions of some of the Jaina texts and Bühler's paper on the Indian Sects of the Jainas.

Mr. Shah, we must admit, has made a serious attempt to bring together all available facts relating to the history of the Jaina Church from the time of its inception to that of the Council of Vallabhi when, according to tradition, the Jaina Siddhānta was collected for the first time. As such, the book will be of great use to the students of Jainism for some time to come though there are many points in it which are open to criticism.

Even if we admit that the Nirgrantha order was the ancient Jaina order, the only positive facts known about it are the references to that order in the Inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravela and those coming from Mathura. The Jaina canon by itself cannot take us very far as its age has been determined by Jacobi only in relation to the Buddhist canonical literature, of which the date is far from certain. Besides the references to the Nirgranthas and to Nirgrantha Jñātrika-putra found in the Buddhist texts are so fragmentary that the early history of that sect is still shrouded in mist. Attempts have been made to establish the historicity of Pārśvanātha but the reasons that were adduced by Jacobi and repeated by others in its favour are not convincing. These are mostly the two allusions, one to the *cāturyāma-saṁvara* and the other to the conversation between Keśi and Gautama, the two disciples of the orders of Pārśvanātha and Jñātrikaputra respectively. But in the Uttarādhyāyana, in which this conversation is referred to, Pārśva is not yet the 23rd Tirthaṅkara who lived 250 years before Mahavira. So it is always a speculation to try to trace the history of a Jaina church from the 8th century B. C. Even as regards the history of Jainism during the subsequent periods we are still justified in being as sceptic as Auguste Barth had been in 1889 because we cannot conscienciously claim to have discovered any new and positive fact since those days.

Regarding Makkhali Gośāla Mr. Shah has tried to refute the theories formulated by Dr. Barua that Mahavira was to some extent indebted to the former. Mr. Shah believes that the Jaina traditions which condemn Makkhali are authentic and should be relied on. Makkhali should be, according to him, a disloyal disciple of Mahavira who created a schism in the church, lived in incontinency and spoilt "Mahavira's chances of founding an all-India religious movement." Mr. Shah would not admit for a moment that the traditions of one religious order are as a rule unfavourable to an antagonistic system. In any way there is no denying the fact that according to these very traditions Gośāla predeceased Mahavira by 16 years and had formulated before his death an original philosophy. The principal doctrines propounded by him were that of *pauttaparihāravāda, i.e.,* doctrine of change through re-animation, *pariṇāmavāda. i.e.,* theory of natural transformation which explained the diversity of the organic world by the principles of *niyati-saṅgati-bhāva* and the doctrine of *saḍābhijāti* which divided mankind into six different types according to their spiritual aptitude and which seems to have anticipated the later Jaina doctrine of *leśyās.* These doctrines cannot be easily explained away as cheap adaptations of the doctrines of Mahavira made by one of his renegade disciples. As long as Jaina sources and traditions are not proved to be authentic, it is simply begging the question to say that Dr. Barua's hypothesis "disregards the authentic Jaina sources and traditions." Besides it does not help in any way Mr. Shah's conclusions to say that the word Ājīvika was a term of contempt with the Jainas. Nothing can be more natural, considering the traditional antagonism between the two orders. But the word had certainly some other significance which we have lost sight of. Coming to positive facts the sects of the *Maṣkariṇs* is referred to in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, and in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. Gośāla was called Maṣkariputra because he belonged to that sect just in the same way as Mahavira was called Nirgranthaputra. The sect of the Ājīvikas is referred to in the inscription of Aśoka and his successor Daśaratha, and in all probability the Ājīvikas who are associated with Gośāla, the Maṣkarin, in the Buddhist and Jaina texts formed a group of those wandering teachers. At any rate the arguments of Mr. Shah are not convincing enough to prove that the Jaina texts have depicted Gośāla in proper light.

Mr. Shah, however, has utilised the archeological data more thoroughly than anybody else and on this account his book is more useful than other compilations like the works of Mrs. Stevenson, Mr. Guerinot and others. He has tried with some success, we must say, to do away with the traditional evidence. But in the study of the history of Jainsm positive facts are lacking to so great an extent that all workers in that field are compelled to have recourse to conjecture and unauthenticated tradition.

Numerous quotations from secondary works form the worst feature of the book. They have spoilt the lucidity of the exposition altogether and amongst them the author's own judgment, if any, is lost sight of. But still the book can be recommended to our students as it is by far the most serious attempt at compilation of the work done in the field.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired though we must say that it has been unnecessarily made too costly to be of easy reach to the common student.

P. C. BAGCHI

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1929. Printed at the Government Press, Bangalore (1931).

Very few of the Native States of India have cared as yet to organise a regular Department of Archaeology what to speak of establishing Universities of their own. Yet the treasures of antiquities—archaeological and artistic,—lying neglected in many of the Native States compel us to think that the states have a definite duty to perform here. Mysore and Hyderabad can take legitimate pride in the fact of their being veritable pioneers in this field. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), who gained international repute by discovering and editing the *Arthaśāstra*, retired after nearly thirty years of active service out of which ten years were devoted to the directing of the Archaeological Department. His noble tradition in Indological research would be carried on by his able successor Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.), the present Director and Professor of History at the Mysore University. As an epigraphist he has already made a name by editing several important inscriptions and recently by his excavations at *Chandravalli* he seems to have taken back the history of South Indian Archaeology by centuries, nay claiming to have reached the stratum of the "Mahenjo-Daro of South India." That chapter of excavation is promised us in the next Report of his department. Meanwhile Dr. Krishna in the present volume of Report under review has given us a graphic description of fruitful finds and conservation work in the Shimoga, Kadur, Hassan, Chitaldrug and other districts. The manuscripts, the coins and other finds enrich our knowledge of the famous South Indian Dynasties like the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara rulers. "The oldest and the most interesting of the epigraphical discoveries was a rock inscription of the Kadamba *Mayuraśarman*, in Prakrit language and *Brāhmi* characters which is said to have thrown new light on the condition of Deccan in the "3rd Century AD." King *Mayûraśarman*, the constructor of a big tank for public use is a champion of irrigation work like Rudradaman of the Junagadh inscription and the Kadamba chief is reputed to have defeated *Trekūta*, *Abhīra*, *Pallava*, *Pâriyâtrika*, *Sakasthāna*, *Sayindaka*, *Puṇāta* and *Mokari*. The facsimile plates of the coins and inscriptions as well as the illustrations of a beautiful Hoysala temple at Agrahara enrich this volume. We wish all success to the new Director and to the Archaeological Department of Mysore and hope that it will take up soon the publication of the photographs of the important bas-reliefs on Ramayana, Mahabharata, etc., on the Mysore temples, which, we pointed out in course of our lectures at the Mysore University, might throw some light on the Epic reliefs of Greater Indian temples.

KALIDAS NAG

The Antiquities of Sind with Historical outline. By Henry Cousins, Late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle 1929). Price Rs. 44-14 or 68*s*., 9*d*.

Mr. Cousins through this volume richly illustrated with about one hundred plates tries to summarise the history of antiquities on Sind when by a strange irony of history his colleagues in the Archaeological Department, were preparing the monumental survey of the Mahenjo-Daro civilisation which will revolutionise not only the theories of all previous workers in Sind but in the whole range of Indian history. When one reads Mr. Cousins' account of the Sudheran-jo-Dhado Stupa and Prof. Bhandarkar's preliminary exploration of the site, one is bound to exclaim "How much of the unexplored remain beneath the explored!" Still we may read with profit the useful notes of Mr. Cousins on the arts and crafts of Sind which in the light of the recent discoveries at Harappa. Mahenjo-Daro and Nal might indicate to some line of continuity from the dim prehistoric past to the living present of Sind. The architectural remains from the early Kushan stupa to the Moslem tombs and mosques have been photographed and reproduced with the eye of an expert.

KALIDAS NAG

A School Geometry. By H. G. Forder, B.A. Published at the University Press, Cambridge.

This is a treatise on elementry geometry by H. G. Forder, the well-known author of Foundations of Euclidean Geometry. It has been written in accordance with the modern scientific idea of rigour and as such the plan adopted is somewhat similar to that of Halstead's Rational Geometry. The book is divided into three parts and contains all the important propositions of elementry geometry. The treatment is based upon a set of Geometrical axioms or as the author calls them assumptions. The assumptions include all the fundamental propositions of congruence and parallelism. Thus the fourth, fifth, sixth, and the eighth propositions of the first book of Euclid are all taken as assumptions. The so-called proofs of these propositions are given at the end of the book where their fallacious nature is exposed. The method is no doubt an ideally scientific one but we are afraid it will not be at all suitable for school boys. Average Indian students will be quite puzzled at the long array of assumptions and will fail to grasp the principle on which the book is based. A better plan would have been to start with the general axioms and to introduce the geometrical axioms (including the axiom of congruence) at suitable places so that the student will have no necessity to assume the truth of the fifth and sixth propositions. Though the book is not suitable for school boys it will be very useful for Indian teachers. The notes scattered throughout the book will enlarge their mental horizon and help them to get a short but interesting glimpse at the vista of modern geometric concepts. Every school should have a copy of this book for the perusal of its teachers.

M. M. Ghosh

Trigonometry, Part IV. By A. W. Siddons, M.A., and R. T. Hughes, M.A. Published at the University Press, Cambridge, 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the last volume of the Trigonometry by A. W. Siddons and R. T. Hughes and mainly deals with Infinite Series, Products and allied topics. The book is well written and covers the course generally prescribed for Honours students in Indian Universities. A special feature of the book is the inclusion of large number of worked-out examples illustrating the artifices to be used in solving trigonometrical problems. Several examples are worked out in more than one way to show the superiority of one method over another. This part of the book will be very useful for advanced students. The subjects of Infinite Product has been excellently treated in a very small compass. Though the proofs are not always complete, the inherent difficulties have been pointed out so that the student will not have to unlearn anything when he studies the treatises of Hobson and Chrystal.

M. M. Ghosh

A New Trigonometry, Vol. I. Numerical. By A. Clement Jones, M.A. Ph.D. and H. E. Newton, M.A. Published by A. &. C. Black, Ltd., London.

This is a small treatise on elementary Trigonometry and covers the course prescribed for the Intermediate Examinations of Indian Universities. A special feature of the book is the omission of circular measure which generally presents difficulties to beginners. Though the book professe to be a numerical one, it contains all the theoretical part necessary for a clear understanding of Trigonometry. The subject of Logarithm has been excluded though a knowledge of it is assumed in working out numerical examples. This is rather unfortunate as it will greatly lessen the utility of the book for Indian students. The book contains numerous examples and it will be specially useful for students who wish to master the essentials of elementary Trigonometry in a short time.

M. M. Ghosh

Geometry, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2*s*. 9*d*. net.

This is the third book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. Like its companion volumes on Arithmetic and Algebra this book will help the students who have taken up additional Mathematics for their Matriculation Examination. The subject of Loci is specially well-treated. A large part of the book is devoted to Trigonometry and Mensuration and this book will be specially useful for students who wish to get a good working knowledge of Trigonometry required for understanding elementary treatises on Mechanics.

M. M. Ghosh

Arithmetic, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2*s*. 9*d*. net.

This is the first book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. A special feature of the book is the inclusion of Logarithm and Mensuration. The first chapter deals with approximations of various types and will be found very useful by advanced students. Students of Commercial Arithmetic will find all they need in the chapter devoted to percentages, discounts, stocks and shares. The last fifty pages consist mainly of examples chosen from the papers set in different examinations.

M. M. Ghosh

Algebra, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2*s*. 9*d*. net.

This is the second book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. This part deals mainly with the subjects generally prescribed for additional Mathematics in the Matriculation Examinations of Indian Universities. Besides the ordinary topics one chapter is devoted to elementary Differential Calculus. There is a large number of well-chosen examples and the book will be useful for advanced students preparing for the Matriculation Examination.

M. M. Ghosh

Twentieth-Century Addresses—By E. C. Dickinson and D. C. Sharma. Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1931.

Anthologies of English prose consisting of short extracts are many in the market. They deal with the same old, hum-drum, commonplace subjects—short pieces chosen from English writers, which may well serve the purpose for which they are made, but it is true that such anthologies are extremely of a dry and monotonous nature. The young student simply manipulates and somehow manages to turn them to his own purpose and passes his examination. They never add to his information, neither do they reveal new vistas of thought and knowledge. He remains in the same old, sheltered and secure recesses of ignorance, neither forming any fresh habits of thought nor learning to cherish any new and noble ideals whether as man, citizen, or student. The present anthology consists of twelve important addresses delivered by such great orators and thinkers as Earl of Balfour, Earl of Rosebery, Viscount Morley, Viscount Haldane, Sir J. C. Bose, Rabindranath, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and others. The extracts have been chosen with the greatest possible care. Addresses, though famous, but marked with an extreme form of grandiloquent classical style and pompous deportment, and tainted with streaks of rancour and gloom, bitter irony and morbid satire, grim banter and sullen whims and fancies, have found no place in this anthology. The compilers never forget their purpose in making these selections. It is meant for students and the subjects are all within the student's spheres of thoughts and ideas. Not a single piece indicates any considerable departure from this essential standpoint of view. The themes are all stimulating and thought-provoking and will undoubtedly increase the resources of the student's mind, broaden his outlook and foster his critical faculty. Such a publication will be highly appreciated.

R. C. Das

The Modern World (1789-1931)—By S. A. Pakeman, M.C., M.A. (Cantab). Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited; St. Martin's Street, London, 1931. Price. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

Full and detailed works of a general nature on the subject of Modern World History are many, but there is hardly any suitable for young schoolboys. Our modern life is so infinitely complex and wide that a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the present world situation is required by every one for the fullest and best possible realization of his individuality. Within the intervening space of one hundred and fifty years the world has seen great changes—changes which have affected nearly every human being. To-day it is no longer possible, for instance, to speak of 'the' unchanging East' or 'unknown Africa.' The purpose of this book is to indicate *how* and *why* these age-old conditions have changed and are changing under our very eyes, and to make us acquainted with the way in which the present world-situation has come into existence. It incidentally deals with the important events and main tendencies of European history since the later part of the eighteenth century. Thus within abrief space it has dealt with the progress of the free states of Europe from the epoch-making revolutions in France and Belgium and the Congress of Vienna down to the Great War of 1914-1918. It has also endeavoured to outline the main events of the East including China, Japan, Russia, India and Australia. The concluding chapters deal with the world since the signing of the peace-treaties and the progress towards recovery from the serious danger of economic collapse which threatened the whole of Central Europe.

The author has done a great service in writing this book. In it he has contrived with great success to give the general readers a well-balanced conspectus of the important events and tendencies of Modern World History. He has dealt with the subject with admirable economy of words and he has gained his object unerringly. This short but comprehensive synopsis will prepare the young students for bigger and more general works on the subject in their college courses.

R. C. DAS

Giti-Gunja—By Sj. Atulprasad Sen. Published by Sj. Harihar Chandra from 2, Chittaranjan Avenue, North. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 1-8.

This book, very elegantly printed on excellent paper, is a collection of about 200 songs by the well-known Bengali poet, Sj. Atulprasad Sen. This is his third book of songs, the first two being *Kayekti-Gān* and *Kākali.*

Atulprasad is a well-known poet and composer and his songs have attained popularity next to Rabindranath's. The popularity of his songs rests chiefly on the simplicity of expression and note of sadness which permeate his poems through and through. Moreover there is a complete sense of resignation and deep pathos in both his devotional lyrics and love-poems combined with a peculiar grace and fascination they carry with them. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons for his wide popularity. This sad sense of resignation of the poet is splendidly conveyed in some exceptionally beautiful lines which seethe with genuine forcible passion. Atulprasad has himself set his songs in tunes, but some of the rhymes are rather uncouth and the pauses imperfect. But inspite of all these his songs appeal to us greatly. That he is a fine and true singer none can question. His songs have all the quaintness, the naïve simplicity and delicate charm of Ramprasad's and this undoubtedly triumphs over all the slight technical defects.

R. C. Das

Ourselves

THE LATE MR. PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI.

In the death of Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, the University Law College loses an able lecturer and the Bengali world of letters a prominent figure. Born some sixty years ago, after a brief period of Government service and professional work of a barrister Mr. Mukherji joined the Law College and devoted his spare time solely to literary work. His novels and short stories are familiar to all conversant with Bengali literature. He edited the now defunct Mānasi o' Marmabāni for a long period. Calm and sedate, a keen observer of human nature, he was an admirable teacher, an accomplished lawyer and a noble man of letters.

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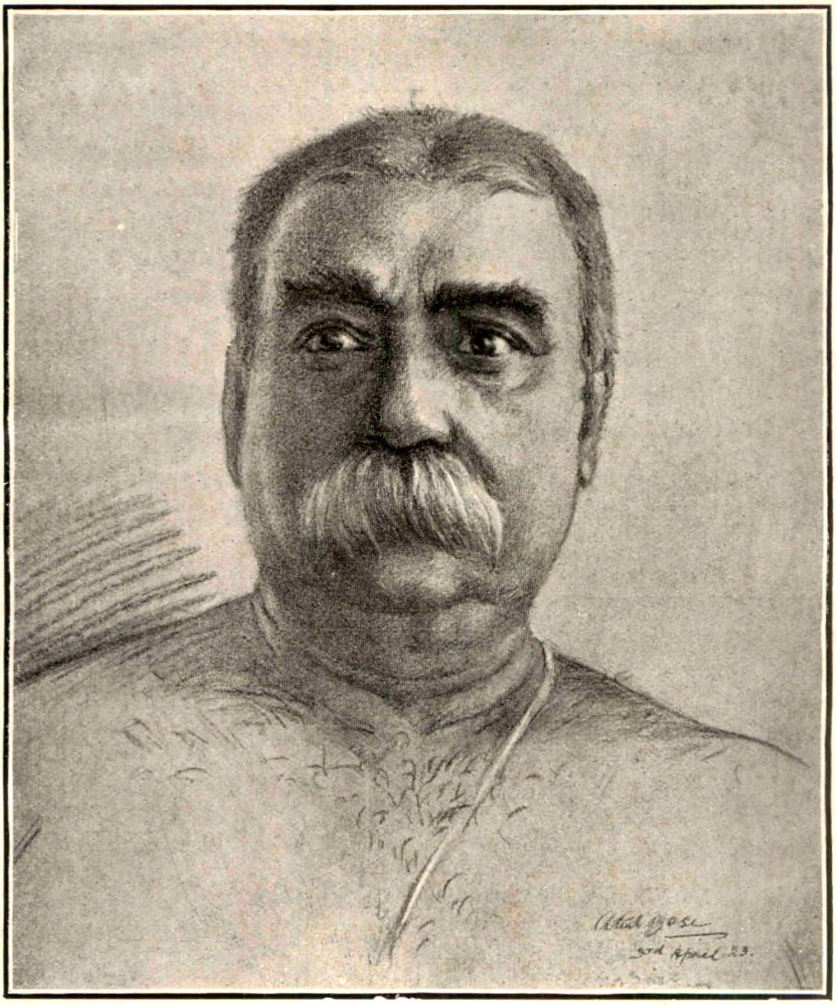
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" THE BENGAL TIGER "

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1932

RECENT ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY

I

The attacks on democracy began almost with the very beginning of democratic government. We find them in Aristotle who had not only a soft heart, but also a critical eye, for the claims of the many. Every age has however not been equally hostile to democracy. The nineteenth century, on the whole, accorded to it an enthusiastic reception. The outstanding fact of the political history of the last century, particularly in its latter half, was the rapid spread of democratic government not only in Europe, but over a large part of the world. No doubt a few well-known thinkers denounced the principles of popular government even when its conquering march was going on. Little heed was however paid to their isolated voices, which were so few that they simply serve to throw into bold relief the general enthusiasm for democracy during that period. A curious change has however come over the western nations in the post-war period. Dictatorship has replaced popular government in many countries. Bolshevik Russia and Fascist Italy have not only set up rival forms of government, but have denounced representative democracy as a colossal hoax. Even in countries like England and France which have maintained their democratic institutions more or less intact, the principles of popular government no longer command the same general respect as before. In short, scepticism of democracy has become the characteristic of our age. It therefore seems as if the warnings of the anti-democratic writers before the war have been fulfilled. It is therefore more than ever necessary to examine the grounds of their attacks in order to ascertain how far the present crisis in democracy is due to an inherent weakness of democratic principles and how far it is due simply to accidental circumstances. In other words we shall attempt to discuss the theoretical validity of the principles of popular government.

It is necessary to begin by a survey of the arguments of some representative anti-democratic writers.

II

SOME ANTI-DEMOCRATIC WRITERS.

A. Sir James Stephen.

In a treatise called "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," published in 1873, Sir James Stephen carefully examines what he thinks to be the three dogmas of the democratic creed. Equality, according to him, is both unrealisable and undesirable. "Legislate how you will, establish universal suffrage, you are still as far as ever from equality." "The result of cutting it (political power) into little bits," he continues, "is simply that the man who can sweep the greatest number of them into one heap will govern the rest. The strongest men in some form or other will always rule." In a pure democracy the wire-pullers and their friends will be the ruling men. Universal suffrage "tends to invert what I should have regarded as the true and natural relation between wisdom and folly." Able and intelligent men are few while the government of a country requires a vast amount of special knowledge. Consequently Sir James Stephen regrets that the government of England should be vested in a popular assembly like the House of Commons ruling as king through a committee which may be dismissed at a moment's notice. "Nothing can be done at all till the importance of doing it has been made obvious to the very lowest capacity." Nor is he very sympathetic to the system of party government "which makes every man who is out of office pick holes in the work of every man who is in office." The result is enormous waste of time and money.

So far Sir James Stephen is quite clear. But he gets on rather thin ice when he argues that popular consent is essential to taxation, for he is aware of the fact the House of Commons began by demanding the right to be consulted in matters of taxation and was then forced by the logic of circumstances to usurp more and more power from the Crown and the Lords until it has come to have the dominant voice in all governmental matters. Popular consent to taxation always proves to be the thin end of the wedge and inevitably brings in its wake full-fledged popular government. One suspects that Sir James Stephen was at least partially aware of this far-reaching implications of his concession for he suddenly softens his voice and adds that democracy, like other human institutions, has its advantages and disadvantages. He does not even mean to suggest that other institutions are or have been much better!

One can therefore hardly class Sir James Stephen with the uncompromising opponents of democracy. His first attitude is no doubt one of revolt, but it is gradually softened down as he enters deeper into the subject while he ends his discussion by an indirect admission that democracy is the best government in practice.

B. *Sir Henry Maine.*

A dozen years after the publication of Sir James Stephen's book Sir Henry Maine published his "Popular Government." He has marshalled a vast amount of historical facts to support his thesis that democracy is unstable. "Experience rather tends to show that it is characterised by great fragility." Democracy, he thinks, is the enemy of progress. He endorses the Straussian doctrine that "History is a sound Aristocrat," or a similar statement of Renan, "*toute civilisation est d'origine aristocratique.*" Universal suffrage, Maine thinks, would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the threshing-machine. Again where the ignorant rule, leadership degenerates. Besides all this Maine thinks there is a fundamental contradiction in the demands of democrats. The first effect of giving power to the mass is, as Hobbes said, to divide political power into fragments, and Sir Henry Maine agrees with Sir James Stephen, whom he quotes approvingly, that democracy simply gives power to "wire-pullers" so that liberty and equality are incompatible. Democracy, according to Maine, is a mere form of government and he does not simply understand why people should go mad over it So long as the government of a country is satisfactorily performed, so long as the country is effectively protected and law and justice are properly administered, it does not matter at all whether the government is a monarchy or an aristocracy. Maine then examines Bentham's arguments for democracy but concludes that Bentham erred by taking for granted that the people would understand their own interests. They are, he urges, too ignorant to do that. In the face of all these weaknesses democracy is kept alive by party government and corruption. "Party is probably nothing more than a survival and a consequence of the primitive combativeness of mankind," and a party government consists in half the cleverest men in the country taking pains to prevent the other half from governing." The apparent success of democracy in U.S.A. does not invalidate what has been said above, for the American government, Maine insists, is not democratic as it operates with checks and constitutional provisions.

The historical method of Sir Henry Maine is often held responsible for his gloomy conclusions about the prospects of democracy. In fact these couclusions, as we shall see later, were due not to his use, but to his misuse, of the historical method. Conservativism is not inherent in the historical method itself, but was rather rooted in Sir Henry Maine's own temperament and he simply supported his predilections by a fallacious selection of historical data.

C. William Lecky.

Both in his method and his general argument Lecky follows closely in the footsteps of Maine. Like Maine he cites historical facts to prove that democracies are unstable. He agrees with Maine that democracy is necessarily the rule of the ignorant, and that the mass would certainly have rejected the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the threshing machine. The choice is, he says, "whether the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." Superiority lies with the few and not with the many, and success, he thinks, can only be attained by placing the guiding and the cotrolling power in the hands of the intelligent few. He regrets that England's progress was going on in the wrong direction, for increased ignorance in the elective body cannot, he argues, be converted into increased capacity for good government in the representative body. Democracy no doubt makes impossible the flattery of the monarch by the people and the nobles, but it introduces a new kind of sycophancy, that of the people by its leaders. Lecky is again at one with Maine in regarding the apparent success of the popular government in America as due to its disguised undemocratic nature, because the constitution operates only within limits. Lastly, he endorses the view of Sir James Stephen and Sir Henry Maine, that liberty and equality are incompatible. "Democracy is not liberty," "Equality," he continues, "is the idol of democracy, and in a society with infinitely various capacities equality can be attained only at the expense of liberty." Democracy means increased governmental power in the field of social regulation, it means an increase of bureaucracy, and lastly, it means increased taxation which is nothing but veiled confiscation as one class votes the taxes which another class has to pay. As regards the last point, Lecky is most emphatic. The right to dispose of one's property as one pleases, the voting of taxation by the class which has to pay the taxes was, he says, rightly regarded as the cardinal principle of British freedom which however has been more and more abandoned with the widening of the franchise.

The greater part of Lecky's two volumes is devoted to substantiate his thesis that democracy instead of extending liberty actually curtails it through restrictive legislation. He cites the increase of taxation, the confiscation of Irish land by the Act of 1881, Sunday legislation, gambling legislation, regulatory marriage laws, factory laws, etc., as examples of popular restriction of liberty.

What then has Lecky to substitute for popular government ? He is not against the representation of the masses, but he would not give them direct control. He declares himself emphatically against universal suffrage. Wherever democracy has been conspicuously successful, the representative body, says Lecky, has been returned on a restricted suffrage. Lecky would probably restrict francise on the basis of property qualification as he condemns so emphatically the confiscation of property by democratic taxation.

D. Ludovici.

Ludovici is another staunch defender of aristocracy. His approach is however deductive and differs fundamentally from that of Lecky and Maine. He does not understand why both of them should have advanced so many minor arguments against democracy, and he marvels at the moderation of Lecky. He then boldly unfolds his thesis which is summarised in one single sentence: Aristocracy means Life while Democracy means

Death. The steps leading to this remarkable conclusion are somewhat as follows :—

1. Life is a process of choosing and discarding in matters of doctrine, diet, etc.

2. To choose rightly means Life, to choose wrongly means Death.

3. It is only the few, "the lucky strokes of Nature," who can choose rightly while the masses choose wrongly.

4. Ergo, to allow the mass any voice in the selection of doctrines, diet, etc., as democracy would necessarily allow, is the surest way to Death.

Admirable logic no doubt, if only there were no need to verify one's premises ! After all, it might be possible that the masses, in spite of their ignorance, could help in this vital process of selection. That is however to anticipate our criticism.

It is clear that Ludovici would not allow the mass any voice at all in the government of their country. The aristocracy has not only to govern but to tutor the mass. The English aristocracy, says this heroic defender of the aristocratic cause, has totally failed in the art of protecting and guiding the ruled. With remarkable meekness the House of Lords even assisted its opponents in 1911 in fleecing itself of its legitimate rights !

E. Emile Faguet.

It is refreshing to turn from Ludovici's cumbrous criticism which often lacks sobriety—he calls John Stuart Mill " philosophic demagogue"—to a modern French writer, Emile Faguet, whose criticism of democracy is attractive as much for his fascinating style as for his penetrating insight. The main ideas of his "Cult of Incompetence," published in 1911, may be restated as follows :—

"That society," says Faguet, "stands highest in the scale, where the division of labour is greatest, where specialisation is most definite, and where the distribution of functions according to efficiency is most thoroughly carried out." Democracy obstructs all this. The people elect those who are intellectually and morally incompetent, and who are but replicas of mass mediocrity. The people next tries to impose on its delegates imperative mandates. Instead of relying on experts the representative government tries to do everything by itself so that experts are driven into other fields of activity. Corrupt appointment is another characteristic feature of democracy, and the consequent official incompetence permeates all branches of government which specially affects the judiciary. The desire to worship incompetence is, as it were, an infectious disease. It has already attacked the state at its very core, and is rapidly spreading to the customs and the morals of the country. "Rudeness," he says, "is democratic." The attempted remedies, such as the provision of a Senate and of competitive examinations have failed. A remedy might be expected from the schools, but the democratic school-master is himself a demagogue who simply confirms and strengthens democracy in its errors. He preaches the dogma of the unlimited sovereignty of the people and the pernicious doctrine of equality. "In a word......the pure wine of democracy is poured out to the people as it was by the demagogues to the Athenians ; and from the quarter whence a remedy might have been expected come there only incitements to deeper intoxication."

What then is the remedy ? M. Faguet calls his solution a "Dream." It is a dream, says he, because here we have to do with an evil which can only be cured by itself so that the prospects of such a cure are meagre. M. Faguet thinks that two elements are necessary for a sound government. A democratic element is essential. A government, if it is to govern well, must know the thoughts and feelings, sufferings and desires, hopes and fears of the people. The people must therefore have a voice which should be heard and considered.

An aristocratic element is also necessary. Technical, intellectual and moral competence should be allowed to play its part. Sometimes history has failed to give a nation an aristocracy, or that which history has made has disappeared as in the case of France. In such a case it is necessary to create one. What is wanted, argues M. Faguet, is a blending of both aristocracy and democracy, not a mere juxtaposition of the two. A reciprocity of devotion between aristocracy and democracy is required. A nation whose people is aristocratic and whose aristocracy is "demophil" is a healthy nation. The secret of Rome's success in the world was that for five hundred years she enjoyed this social health. The motto therefore is: "An aristocratic people and a people-loving aristocracy."

In another book published four years later and called "The Dread of Responsibility," M. Faguet repeats the same ideas with characteristic force. He laments at what he regards as the French habit of shirking responsibility, and Frenchmen, he thinks, have been fashioned into this by two centuries of brilliant despotism. Such a habit France must discard if she is not to deteriorate. In a brilliant paradox M. Faguet urges that "a democracy can live only on condition of producing aristocracies or permitting aristocracies to produce themselves. That seems strange, but nothing is more certain. The vitality of democracies is measured by the amount of power they have to generate aristocracies."

The main arguments of M. Faguet have been set above in some detail, because they show the grounds of attack on democracy while at the same time reveal their main weakness. Unlike Ludovici, M. Faguet would allow the people some kind of representation; their voices, as he says, are to be heard and considered. But why? The government being for the people, their wants and desires have to be known. But if an aristocratic government in its own selfish interests ignores these wants and desires after they have been made known, what can the people do? They can either yield to the wishes of the aristocracy, in which case the government ceases to be for the people; or they can impose their will on the aristocracy, in which case the government becomes democratic. M. Faguet evades such a dilemma by "dreaming" of a "demophil" aristocracy and an aristocracy-loving people. He thus assumes a harmonious relationship between the two. In other words, he assumes the existence of what a democratic institution attempts to create. He thus magnificently begs the question. A government may not love the people, but it must not ignore their interests. That is the supreme problem of politics. Democracy, as we shall soon see, provides us with a workable solution of this problem.

The arguments of some well-known anti-democratic writers have been set forth in considerable detail. To turn to other critics of democracy is hardly necessary, as the same arguments are repeated in some form or other. What is needed is a critical examination of the arguments already stated rather than their multiplication. Such an examination is undertaken in the following section.

III

AN EXAMINATION OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ARGUMENTS.

A careful analysis of the anti-democratic arguments will show that most of them centre round one incontestable fact, namely, that the intelligent are few and the masses are ignorant. All other conclusions are drawn, rightly or wrongly, from this single major premise, and are sometimes supported by historical facts. Democracy, being a mass rule, is, it is urged, the rule of the ignorant; being the rule of the ignorant, it is incompetent and unprogressive; being subject to the whims and passions of the mass, it is fragile ; the intellectual few having to flatter the mass, leadership degenerates. Democracy is " the cult of incompetence."

Now it is true that the intelligent are few, but it is equally true that these few have not always come from the same group of men in the society. Intelligence is not the monopoly of the so-called social aristocracy. The masses have certainly produced many intelligent men. It might no doubt be argued that though intelligence is not the monopoly of the aristocratic class, still it is this class which produces the greatest number of capable men. This is a doubtful statement which requires statistical verification. Even if the statement were true, it would not follow that the upper class of society is inherently capable of producing abler men. The social aristocracy has always far greater opportunities than the poorer mass, and other things remaining equal, a greater percentage of intelligent people should come from it. Potential intelligence among the masses may be very considerable, and given proper opportunities, a far greater number of eminent men may come out of them than has hitherto been the case. In fact, the history of modern democracy lends force to this argument. With the development of democratic institutions opportunities have become at least less unequal while at the same time more and more men from the lower ranks of society have distinguished themselves in various fields of activities. The table thus seems to be completely turned. The intelligent are so few that society can ill afford to destroy any potential intelligence. It is then to the interest of the society to maintain such conditions that every individual may become what he is potentially capable of. Thus what at first sight seemed to be an overwhelming argument against democracy becomes the strongest argument in its favour if, following Lowell, we define democracy as that form of society in which every man has a chance and knows that he has it.

Implied in all this is an emphasis on the importance of environment and social conditions in developing human character and intelligence. No doubt many, for example, the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, Condorcet and Owen, were wrong in regarding all people as born equal, all later differences being due to a defective social organisation. Nobody denies to-day that men are born unequal. None the less, it is necessary to guard oneself against the contrary danger of ignoring the importance of social environment and of attributing all differences in intelligence to differences in inherited gifts. Eugenics is unfortunately still at an incipient stage and cannot throw much light on this vital problem. We do not know to what extent genius is born and to what extent it is made. The relative importance of inherited gifts and of environment, of Nature and of Nurture, is not known. The most sensible solution of the problem would therefore be to throw "*carrière ouverte aux talents*," and to treat all men as potentially equal.

The Straussian doctrine that "History is a sound Aristocrat" is not therefore, when rightly interpreted, an argument against democracy. It can mean either of two things. It may mean that the intellectual and progressive people have always been very few. This is not only true, but a truism. It may also mean that these few have always constituted a closed class, the members of which inherited exceptional capacities from their ancestors and bequeathed such capacities to their descendants. This is certainly not true, and would be still less true if the unintelligent masses had greater opportunities for developing themselves. Social aristocracy is not the intellectual aristocracy. Neither logic nor experience justifies their identification. When M. Faguet speaks of creating an aristocracy he overlooks this very important consideration.

The doctrine of the struggle for existence has been glorified both by Ludovici and Maine. One of their arguments against democracy is that it hampers the process of automatic elimination of the weak. Maine fervently speaks of "the struggle for existence, the beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another and remain there through the law of the survival of the fittest." But to regard life as a mere struggle for existence in which the strongest alone ought to survive may not be the most rational view of life. Even if it were so, it would not follow that the fittest alone would actually survive when social opportunities are so unequally distributed. Such a doctrine, to have any validity at all, presupposes the existence of equal opportunities.

So far the argument has been utilitarian. Equalisation of opportunities, it has been urged, is a condition of the maximum utilisation of potential capacities. One might however go a step further and argue that each individual is an end in himself so that the only reasonable objective of the social organisation is to ensure that each of its members will be in a position to develop himself to the utmost. Consequently, even if it were possible to mark out those who are potentially less capable, it would not be justifiable to sacrifice them for the sake of others. Even they should be provided with adequate opportunities. It might be argued that in such a society progress would be hampered. But that depends on what conception of progress one has. Progress, it might be urged, is for people, not people for progress. It was this truth which was insisted upon by Colonel Rainboro when, in that memorable debate at Putney in 1647 between the army officers on one side and Cromwell and Ireton on the other, he said that "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he."

It has been seen that a rational social organisation must provide equal opportunities. Does this necessarily mean democracy? Is it not possible to equalise opportunities in a monarchy or an aristocracy? The inductive approach to this question is the most fruitful one and we shall begin by recapitulating certain historical facts.

In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries kings in many countries professed to rule by divine right so that the ruled had no right to question the justness of royal commands. Unquestioning obedience was their duty. This however became impossible when the interest of the ruler and of the ruled clashed at every step. It is a logical deduction from divine right that in all such conflicts the interests of the ruler alone should prevail. The people challenged a theory which justified the sacrifice of their interests. They successfully asserted that the true objective of government is social welfare and that a monarch forfeited his right to rule as soon as he forgot his obligations to the society. The downfall of the divine right monarchy was in fact the victory of this "social welfare theory" of government. But this solved only half the problem. The next question was: What sort of governmental institution should there be if this newly-asserted end of government was to be attained? The answer which Europe in the course of a long and bloody history has given to this institutional question is Democracy. In other words, if the end of government be social welfare, then that government must be democratic. Why? History has repeatedly shown that if governmental powers are concentrated in the hands of one or a few, that one or those few exercise these powers, not for the benefit of the society, but for their own benefit. Irresponsible power breeds selfishness in the ruler. Popular control is necessary if popular interests are to be safeguarded. All the important royal dynasties of Europe bear ample testimony to this truth.

Thus the cry for self-government which has been again and again heard in the course of the last hundred and fifty years is not a mere historical accident. It represents the crystallised political experience of centuries. It arose when all other alternative governments had already been tried and discredited. The supreme virtue of democracy is that it ensures that the government will not be oblivious of popular interests.

The mistake of the opponents of democracy is that they forget the inevitable tendency of absolute power to become selfish. Bentham, who was at first not a democrat, was forced to champion popular government when he was gradually convinced of the "sinister interests" of an irresponsible aristocracy. It is curious that even Maine and Lecky should have overlooked this supreme historical lesson. From their study of history they concluded that democracy was fragile. They failed to realise that the period, roughly from 1789 to 1875, was a period of transition from monarchy and aristocracy to democracy, that during this whole period there was a constant tug-of-war between the people and their rulers, that, broadly, what the people were trying to do was to bridle unrestricted and selfish power, and that, consequently, monarchies and aristocracies were again and again overthrown so that these latter rather than democracies were unstable.

The mistake of Maine and Lecky is however interesting as it provides us with the key to all anti-democratic writings. The opponents of democracy analyse monarchy and aristocracy not objectively, but subjectively. Their attacks on popular government proceed from a fundamental error: they compare democracy as it is with monarchy or aristocracy as it should be. In this connection it is interesting to refer to Aristotle. Aristotle justified the rule of one man when that man was wisdom incarnate so that his wisdom was greater than the collective wisdom of all the people. But he hastened to add that such a man it was almost impossible to find, and that even if such a man were found there would be no guarantee that his successor would be equally able and virtuous. Similarly in discussing his ideal state Aristotle, following in the footsteps of his illustrious master, came to the conclusion that aristocracy, that is to say, the disinterested rule of the enlightened few, was ideally the best form of government. But with that supreme practical genius which characterises the whole of his Politics, he at once realised that it was not sufficient to state what was ideally the best. Politics, he insisted, has a practical problem to solve so that it must deal with realities and find out what is best in practice. In other words, he distinguished between what one might describe as the "ideal ideal" and the "practical ideal." The advocates of benevolent despotism and intellectual aristocracy generally concern themselves with the first and neglect the second, though it is the second which is by far the more important of the two.

Carlyle and Bismarck used to idealise benevolent despotism. But the Stuarts, the Bourbons, the Romanovs, even the Hohenzollerns have repeatedly shown how seldom a despot acts benevolently. The latter part of the eighteenth century was no doubt conspicuous for its remarkable array of benevolent despots. Lord Acton called it "the age of repentant monarchy." Yet such a despotism could not save the "*ancien regime*." The system had been rotten to the core. The eleventh-hour activities of some good-intentioned rulers could not atone for the prolonged indolence of their predecessors. The defects of benevolent despotism are manifestly two : it is a despotism so that too much reliance is placed on the capacities of one individual; and in any case it is impossible to guarantee that it will always remain benevolent.

The opponents of democracy have very often regarded aristocracy in Aristotle's sense as the best form of government. But it is neither fair nor sufficient to point out the practical defects of democracy and then to extol a kind of aristocracy which exists only in the realm of political speculation. Burke made that mistake all through his life by insisting that the revolutionary settlement of 1688 gave England the best form of government and then stoutly opposed all proposals for parliamentary reform. He never approached the British aristocracy objectively, and consequently, he confused the ideal with the real. Maine, Lecky, Ludovici also suffer from the same error. Faguet has seen the difficulty of finding an aristocracy after his heart and is "dreaming" that such an ideal aristocracy will some day appear in France. A Utopian aristocracy is no cure for the ills of democracy.

Democratic government, then, is inevitable if social welfare is to be safeguarded. Must democracy be incompetent ?

The antagonists of democracy have argued that in its attempt to establish equality democracy levels down all distinctions, and in its endeavour to give equal political power to all it inevitably makes the government incompetent. This is however an error based on two serious misconceptions : one refers to the real meaning of equality in this context, the other to the exact part assigned to the people in a democratic government.

Equality does not mean that all disticntions are to be abolished. As interpreted in the foregoing pages, it simply means equality of opportunities, or to use Mr. Tawney's expression, "equality simply means equal opportunities to be unequal." It aims not at the imposition of uniformity, but at the cultivation of diversity. It only insists that all inequalities should be explainable in terms of reason, that there should be some correlation between inequality and individual capacity. Such an interpretation of equality is not a new one and dates back to the days of Aristotle. " Equality means not that the recognition of the better man is equal to the recognition of the worse, but the ratio between recognition and merit in the one case is equal to the ratio in the other." (E. Barker—*Political Thoughts of Plato and Aristotle*, p. 356.)

Again, the electors elect their representatives, but these representatives are not merely the mouthpiece of the people. A member of Parliament, in Burke's words, owes his constituency not only to his industry but also his judgment. Indeed even these representatives are not to settle all the details of government. They must in their turn depend on experts. This is becoming all the more necessary when, with the development of science and the extension of governmental functions, the business of government is increasing in size, complexity and technicality. One of the most difficult political problems of our day is how to divide the work between a legislative assembly and administrative experts. With this practical institutional question we are not concerned here. What is important is to note that democracy cannot dispense with experts ; nor does it want to do so. As John Stuart Mill has rightly remarked, there cannot be an expert well-managed democracy, if democracy will not allow the expert to do the work which he alone can do.

The actual part assigned to the voters in a modern democracy is thus far less significant than that played by the people in the direct democracies of old Greece. None the less, the principle of popular election is of vital importance even when the mere size of modern states and of the amount of governmental business necessarily involves a transfer of effective power from the people to administrative experts *viâ* the elected assembly. Such an election, as already stated, operates as a check on the government. The government being for the people, the former must know the wants and desires of the people in order to know how to serve them best. Again the people are also to judge whether or not they have been actually served well by the government. For this last function the people, as Aristotle pointed out, are admirably fitted. " The user is a better judge than the builder of the excellence of a house, the guest a better judge of a feast than the cook. The ruler should be placed in office and should be removable from office by those who benefit or suffer by their rule—by the wearers who know best where the shoe pinches.'' (E. D. Ross on Aristotle.) In other words, the election of representatives is necessary to make sure not only that the government will be willing to serve the community, but that it will actually serve it well.

IV

CONCLUSION.

The arguments of Sir James Stephen, Maine, Lecky, Ludovici and Faguet have been rejected above. Their mistake was twofold: they overlooked the necessity of restraining political authority, and they exaggerated the virtues of monarchy and aristocracy. They championed an aristocracy in Aristotle's sense. But they failed to see that there must be an equal distribution of opportunities if a genuine intellectual aristocracy is to be created. A real democracy is the condition of Aristotelian aristocracy.

Nevertheless, it is clear that we are in agreement with anti-democrats on many important points. Thus equality is not to be absolute, but relative—equality is the equal opportunity to be unequal; the elected are not mere delegates, but representatives; and these representatives are equally to rely on experts. These are rather important compromises with the principles of aristocracy. To use Prof. Laski's startling epigram, " Popular franchise is not popular rule" and democracy is only an "aristocracy by delegation." We have, in fact, disarmed our opponents only because we have accepted some of their main contentions. The word democracy has in fact had a changing connotation. The same word is used to signify a substantially altered theory. It resembles a river which has maintained its name throughout its course, but which has assumed its present size only because other channels have emptied their waters into it.

S. SEN

A NEW WAR CLOUD LOOMS AFAR.........

(On Sino-Japanese Wrangle.)

Men and nations are again astir,
A new war-cloud looms afar ;
From the land of the Rising Sun
Swells the sound of cannon and gun.
Regardless of a war-weary world's frantic cries
To respect the peace that between nations lies,
Regardless of the bitter memories of the not-too distant years
When the Earth was drenched with human blood and tears,—
Defiant Japan with an arrogance unknown before
Rattles her sword to terrorise a weak inoffensive foe ;
When Peace is the need and cry of the hour
Peace is wantonly destroyed by a swelled-headed power.
The cup of China's humiliation is full
The oldest nation on Earth be crushed or shall rule.

Not many years now—in the life-time of ours
When Japan was but an insignificant power
A nation of Europe, pampered and swelled
With enormous power and wealth
Hurled defiance at Japan, then little known
Unprepared ; and scarce yet a nation born
And Japan's answer was a great defensive war
Fought by her gallant sons with epic valour ;
Justice was upon her side and Justice won.
A great day dawned in the Land of the Rising Sun.
The first crushing blow by an Eastern upon a Western power,
Japan redeemed Asia's honour in that fateful hour,
And from that day and that day ever since
Her name is honoured in the West and adored in the East.

How fresh the memory of the day, when an amazed
Admiring world, for her, a great cheer raised
At Japan's triumphant achievement of an hour—
Transformed from a petty into a mighty power
Throughout the lands of the East and West
Her name stood for all that in national life was best
Honour, chivalry, valour and military fame
The World acclaimed her and acclaimed her name.
A new life surged and pulsated thro' the East,
The Sun of New Asia struggled thro' the age-long mist,
New China was born on the lap of Japan's triumph
And every country in Asia, from Turkey to Siam
Looked to the Land of the Rising Sun
For help, for guidance and inspiration.

Cursed be the moment, when nations and men, drunk with power
Forget their ancient woes in their triumphant hour!
The old Japan hath passed, that won the war
Patriotism is no longer the defence of the land of her sire.
A new patriotism, more aggressive, more ambitious, hath seized her soul
Japan hath joined the old Guards, anxious to extend her goal;
A page borrowed from the Book of old Europe
New Japan is to-day, New Asia's shattered hope;
One merely amongst the exploiting Powers of the World
From what moral eminence to what immoral depths, she is hurled!
A gallant, proud, determined defender of her country's freedom
She is reduced to a wanton aggressor of others' kingdom
No longer the glorious "Rising Sun" struggling thro' the mist
New Japan is the New World's bugbear in the East.

Other bugbears who had gone before her and had their day
Others who are still in the field and hold their sway

Anxious to wound, afraid to strike
Feebly protest and protest alike.
The fate of four hundred million human lives
Hath become the sport of their wretched diplomatic strife ;
Seven Powers of the Earth have their spear-heads thrust
Into China's flesh, the day be cursed
When nation after nation cheated her of her right—
Lulled by narcotic fumes, lured into her present plight;
The spell is broke, China hath awoke,
She hath regained her long-lost soul,
The merry game of the Foreigner be soon o'er !
New China shall reach her destined goal ! !

And hearken the wheel that turns for ever
Moulding Human Fates above Human endeavour ;
Hear, the voice that comes from its creaking loud
Bemoans the fate that shall befall the tyrant proud ;
The voice doth speak thro' myriad tongues
Planted in millions of oppressed, human breasts
Found in every land, in every sphere of life
In Religion, in Politics, in Society, there is a strife,
An organised tyranny, a bondage
Super-imposed on the weak and the meek ;
The weak seem to suffer as tho' to suffer they are born
The meek patiently submit, till the meekness be gone,
And until that day is reached, oh God
May I be alive to see what the Hand of Fate hath wrought ! !

K. P. Ray

THE INDUSTRIAL BANK OF JAPAN

VIII

With this brief survey of the activities of the Industrial Bank, let us now turn to the question how far the bank has financed the industrial development of the country. To answer that question, we have to find out, whether the Indusrial Bank is the only institution which caters for the financial needs of industry. We find, however, that the Industrial Bank is not the only factor in Japanese industrial financing. The Hypothec Bank which was designed on the lines of the French 'Credit foncier' to make loans on immovable property engages actively in industrial financing. The Deposits Bureau of the Government lends considerable sums through the bank to smaller industries. In recent times the bank has begun to play an interesting part in underwriting debenture issues. In 1929 it was reported to have underwirtten a 20 million yen Daido Electric Power Company issue. The part it took in the post-war financing of industry was remarkable. It is ever extending its activities and in 1929 it was announced that it would advance money on security of fire-proof and quake-proof buildings in Tokio and its vicinity.[1]

The local Agricultural and Industrial Banks, which are in effect branches of the Hypothec Bank in different prefectures, play a part in the financing of industries because, besides making loans to agriculturists and public bodies, these extend their assistance to manufactures also. It must be pointed out that if extent of debenture issues is a measure of assistance to industrialists and other bodies, there has been an enormous increase of

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[1] Japan Advertiser, April 9, 1929, p. 7.

Hypothec Bank debentures during 1918-1926. The debenture issues of the Industrial Bank have been overshadowed by them. The former have been declining since 1921, but half of the outstanding debentures of the special banks are those of the Hypothec Bank.

The extent of the assistance of the Industrial Bank in the industrial progress of the country cannot be measured without a reference to the activities of the ordinary commercial banks in the sphere of industrial financing. There is a persistent tendency on their part to make extensive loans by way of accommodation to industrial concerns. Either they put their funds on call or they are inclined to make long-term loans on industrial security and real estate. This practice of entangling their funds in long-period loans on immovable property and securities is manifest in the case of both the smaller and larger banks. Dr. Furuya in a recent publication observes that the so-called exchange banks of Japan are in the habit of locking up their assets in long-term investments in industries.[2] Mr. G. C. Allen has pointed out that in 1921 the advances of the ordinary and savings banks on immovable property were more than 1,000 million yen whereas those of the official industrial and agricultural banks were only 100 million yen.[3] This tendency is inevitable in the case of a country where industrial development is progressing at rapid strides but where there is a shortage of capital for long-term investment. This practice of the ordinary banks indicates also the inability of the official industrial banks to meet the demand for industrial capital. In more recent times owing to an influx of deposits into the commercial banks, especially after the 1927 crisis, their tendency for security holdings has increased to a very considerable extent. Formerly there was a competition among them to attract deposits ; now they are competing with one another in underwritting the issue of debentures.[4] The rush of deposits into the "Big Five" has been especially great and consequently there has taken place a considerable increase of their security holdings. The following figures give an idea of this increase in recent times.[5]

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[2] S. Y. Furuya, Japan's Foreign Exchange and her Balance of International Payments, p. 162.

[3] G. C. Allen—Modern Japan and its problems, *op. cit.*

(*In thousands of Yen*)

	December 31, 1928.	Increase over oldings on 30th June, 1928.
Mitsui	234,598	82,769
Mitsubishi	322,893	89,130
Darichi	248,597	39,142
Samitome	235,691	89,130
Yasuda	278,308	61,976
Total ...	1,320,087	353,147

Besides, the commercial banks play an important part in industrial financing, as they are large holders of securities. At the end of June, 1921, they held 852,956,000 yen so invested, as compared with 3,277,732,000 yen held by ordinary banks and 754,657,000 yen held by the special banks. Judging from conditions of March 31, 1929, one half of the securities held by the savings banks consist of other than Government bonds. These savings banks are permitted to take up or purchase, with the approval of the Minister of Finance, debentures and stocks of companies and to make loans on pledge of the said securities and also on mortgage of real estate.[6] This activity of the Japanese Savings banks is somewhat akin to that of their American rivals but the latter are invariably restricted to first class bonds only (and not shares also) in the matter of their investment.

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[4] The Times Trade and Eng. Supplement, Banking Sections, June 29, 1929, p. 34 and June 28, 1930, p. 25.

[5] H. M. Bratter, The Big Five in Japanese Banking, Trade Information Bulletin No. 653. (U. S. Govt. Printing Office.)

[6] Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1928.

The famous houses of the Mitsubishis, Mitsuis, Sumitomos and Yasudas have also been responsible for many of the new industries of Japan. These powerful bankers have extended their activities in the industrial field. There are probably few enterprises of importance in Japan in which at least one of the groups has no interests. The most powerful banking houses are primarily industrialists themselves.

It may also be noted in this connection that some industries of Japan have received a considerable portion of their capital from foreigners and international concerns. Some of the machine-manufacturing industries, such as the Nippon Denki Kabusiki Kaisha, manufacturing telegraphic and telephonic implements, have their capital partly held by foreigners. Some companies manufacturing electric supplies are connected in matters of capital with great International concerns such as the G. E. C. the Siemens Schukert, the Westing House Electric Company, etc.[7]

As regards investment banking, we have to point out that such business has not been developed to any very great extent. The Japanese Security Houses cannot in any way be compared to the highly organized investment banking houses in the United States. They are new in the field and their number at present is only 6. They work in close co-operation with the large banks. The banks hold the major part of the securities. They underwrite and occasionally sell a part of their holding to other banks. The public are not large buyers of securities. They are absorbed by banks, insurance and trust companies. These take 92% of all securities placed in the market, public participation in new issues being not more than 8%.[8]

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[7] Present-day Japan (Asahi, English Supplement), 1929, p. 137. The G. E. C. holds 6,000,000 yen worth of shares out of 20 million yen in the Shibaura; the Westing House Electric Company holds 1,500,000 yen out of 15 million yen in the Mitsubishi and the Siemens Schukert holds 3 million yen (out of 10 million yen) in the Fuji Denki Seizo Kabushiki Kaisha.

[8] Industrial Japan To-day (Special English Supplement, June 1928, Tuesday).

The insurance companies play some part in the financing of industries. They usually work in syndicates with the banks. One such Syndicate of Banks and Insurance Companies underwrote 19 million yen issue of Toho Electric Power Company in September, 1929.[9]

IX

In estimating the share of the Industrial Bank in the industrial development of the country, the influence of all these factors must be taken into account. The activities of the Government in this direction must not also be forgotten. Whatever might be the part played by the bank, it must be frankly admitted that it is the active Government participation which has made possible the greater part of Japan's industrial progress. From the earliest times the Government has taken an active interest in the industrialization of the country. The Government had to take the lead; it could not do otherwise. The supply of capital was hopelessly inadequate for the new forms of production and for the material equipment of country ; the merchant and the industrial classes were incapable of the great tasks before them. Hence the Government stepped in and took upon itself the task of shaping and initiating the industrial advance of the country. "It decided what enterprises should be inaugurated; it established them or furnished the capital for their establishment by private companies; it encouraged technical and scientific training; it imported instructors from abroad for the new industries." [10] The Government has maintained that initiative even to the present day. It has not been able to withdraw from industry and is continuing to introduce and support new industries and assist old ones in difficulties.

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[9] Herbert Bratter, Japanese Banking, *op cit.*, p. 93.

[10] The New Economic Position of Japan, John and Dorothy Orchard, p. 79 (1930).

Coming to specific industries, we find that the shipbuilding industry is one of the most important industries to receive Government assistance from the early times of the modern period. Prior to 1880, shipbuilding in Japan was entirely under Government management. In 1896 the famous Shipbuilding Encouragement Act was passed and in 1899 the Navigation Encouragement Amendment Act. The immediate effects of the subsidizing policy adopted by the Government under the Acts were the establishment of several new shipbuilding companies and a remarkable achievement of skill and technique. The amount of subsidy paid by the Government under the acts was 22,757,495 yen between 1896 and 1918.[11] During that period the total tonnage of Japanese Ships increased by 1,300,000 tons, an increase of 57·3% when compared with the year when the Act was passed. This rapid increase may not be wholly due to the Act; but it is quite true that this high record could not be so easily established without the subsidy.

The development of the Japanese Merchant Marine has also been largely due to the subsidies and encouragement of the Government. Financial assistance has been given to shipping companies since their establishment under the Navigation Encouragement Act and the Ocean Service Subvention Law of 1909.[12] A total of 207 million in bounties and subsidies was paid out to shipping companies during 1902-1926.[13] Without Government assistance Japanese shipping would not have been able to make the progress it has made and " could have been operated only at a loss to the owners.'' (Orchard.)

The building of railways and encouragement of private railway companies has been a marked feature of Government activities, ever since the pioneer railway of Japan was constructed by the state during 1870-72. Loans were floated in London and at home to finance the building of Government railways private companies received Government subsidies and guarantees of dividend payments. By 1927-28 the Government was paying subsidies of over 6 million yen to 70 lines.[14]

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[11] Uyehara, The Trade and Industry of Japan, p. 235.

[12] The Nippon Yusen Kaisha received, for instance, a subsidy of 89,300,000 yen, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, 34,700,000 yen, Toyo Rishan Kaisha, 85,300,000 yen, Nanyo Kishen Kaisha, 1,500,000 yen, etc.

[13] Financial and Economic Annual of Japan (1900-1928).

The Iron and Steel industry is another industry which has received the earnest attention and liberal assistance of the Government, ever since the Imperial Steel Works was built at Yawata in 1892. In the beginning the results were meagre. But the Government persisted in its efforts and the World War brought about a spectacular expansion in the industry. Without the liberal use of Government funds in the earlier period and its continued assistance since, Japan could have no iron and steel industry to-day.

As regards the manufacturing industries it is the same story. The Government has pursued its active policy of encouragement here as elsewhere. The first arsenal, the first silk filature, the first glass factory, the first chemical works have been built by Government efforts. At one time or another Government has established or operated cotton spinning mills, wool spinning and weaving mills, cement, brick and soap plants, porcelain works, food factories and so on.[15] In recent years the manufacture of air crafts and the dye stuffs industry have received great assistance from the Government.[16] Indeed it will not be an exaggeration to say that almost all modern industries owe their existence to the Government initiative. In the case of industries started by private companies, Government assistance has been liberally extended in the form of loans and subsidies. Not only infant industries but old established industries in difficulties receive the aid and attention of the Government. Modern Japanese industry owes its development to the "efforts of a highly paternalistic central Government."

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[14] Orchard., *op cit.*, p. 80.

[15] Orchard, *op cit.*, p. 90.

[16] Present-day Japan (Asahi English, Supplement), 1929, p. 118, p. 121. The Osaka Dye Stuffs Industry (established in 1915) received up to 1927, 7,500,000 yen in subsidies and bounties from the Government.

X

From the preceding discussion it is abundantly clear that the Industrial Bank cannot claim a large share in the industrial up-lift of the country. The part played by other factors has been equally great, if not greater. From 1868 to 1893 the industries were undertaken and nurtured by the State. In 1893 the paid-up capital of all companies in Japan was 231,966,000 yen, but ten years later it increased to 887,606,000 yen. This enormous progress had been achieved before the Bank became active in the field. During the period 1903-1913 the increase in the capital was 123% for at the end of 1913 the total paid-up capital amounted to 1,983,232,000 yen. This was undoubtedly a remarkable achievement but it cannot be said to be solely due to the Industrial Bank. The glorious victory over the Russians in 1905 gave a powerful impetus to the industrial progress of the country. The great European War gave a further stimulus and an unprecedented development followed in its wake. The total paid-up capital rose to 9,312,072,000 yen.[17]

An analysis of the items of the export and import trade of Japan between 1895 will also help us to understand the rapid strides at which her economic development has progreseed. The following figures given by the Asahi English Supplement (1930) are highly significant as indicating the rapid change of Japan's industrial mainstay from agriculture to manufacture.[18]

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[17] Uyehara *op. cit.*, pp. 12-17.

[18] Present-day Japan (Asahi, English Supplement), 1930, p. 136.

Percentage of the Goods Exported and Imported.

	1895	1910	1920	1928		
Foodstuffs	16·4	11·23	7·30	8·17	Percentage of	exports
	17·10	9·69	9·52	13·61	,,	imports
Raw materials	8·48	8·77	7·14	4·63	,,	exports
	23·44	49·83	53·94	53·12	,,	imports
Semi-manufactured	43·64	49·09	34·83	43·09	,,	exports
	19·96	17·85	21·79	17·45	,,	imports
Manufactured	28·00	29·96	49·42	42·52	,,	exports
	35·58	22·08	14·06	15·16	,,	imports
Miscellaneous	3·38	0·95	1·26	1·58	,,	export.
	3·87	0·55	0·68	0·66	,,	imports

In this amazing industrial progress, the Industrial Bank had surely a share. But we should be careful not to overestimate its influence. We should have to reckon the valuable services rendered by the other banks and by the State in the industrial sphere. The most important part played in the industrial development of the country has been undoubtedly the State's. The Industrial Bank would have found it difficult to function, if the Government did not take a keen interest in its affairs and did not help it with the immense resources of the Deposits Bureau. From the very early times the Government had large investments in the Bank through the Deposits Bureau. As late as in March 1929 we find that the Deposits Bureau invested in the Bank 32,500,000 yen the amount being advanced to the Kokusai Steamship Company, the Japan Paper Business Company and the Godo Glycerine Company.[19]

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[19] Herber Bratter, Japanese Banking, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

XI

Before adopting the Japanese institution as the model for our future Industrial Bank, we should remember that it was not the main factor, not even an important factor, in promoting the industrial development of the country. It must also be recognized that the Government of Japan completely identified itself with the working of the bank. An Industrial Bank on the same model but without similar Government assistance will not solve the problem of industrial finance in India. The entry of other Banks into the investment field in Japan shows that even there the official Industrial Bank was unable to meet the ever-increasing demand for industrial capital. Any scheme for starting an institution on the same model should also take account of the fact, which it generally does not, that the Industrial Bank in Japan often worked in syndicates with other banks, thus distributing the risks in investments fairly widely. Lastly, we must not forget that the Bank incurred severe losses when real estate and security values depreciated and it found a considerable portion of its funds entangled in shipbuilding and other industries caught in the past war slump. A keen controversy arose as to the successful working of the Bank. Some bitter criticisms were levelled against the institution, and although the laws were not actually modified agitation was successfully carried on to bring it under greater and more detailed superintendence of the Finance Department of the State. In more recent times, it may be interesting to note, the Financial System Investigation Committee has under consideration new legislation aiming to overhaul the entire banking system of Japan on the lines of the pre-war English deposit banking.[20]

SAROJKUMAR BASU

(*Concluded.*)

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[20] A paper read before the Economic Association, University of Dacca, 16th December, 1931.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN CURRENCY AND THE FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON IT

Many of the European researchers in the field of the Indian Numismatics consider that the Indian coinage in its origin was not indigenous but exotic and learnt from the Babylonians or the Greeks. But this view was very early challenged by Cunningham, Edward, Rapson and others.[1]

"In former days it was the general opinion of the classical scholars that the art of coinage had been introduced into India by the Bactrian Greeks...the types, the shapes and the standard of the earliest money...could not have from the Greek money"[2] "...the people of Hindustan in very early times, had independently achieved considerable progress in the art of coining; even before the Greek civilisation reached them."[3]

"Doubts have been entertained of the existence of a native Indian currency prior to the introduction of the art of coining by the Greeks of Bactria...There are some considerations however which militate against it...It seems likely that the Hindus had a system of stamped coin even before the Greek invasion."[4]

"The most ancient coinage of India...developed independently of any foreign influence...follows the native system of weights..."[5]

"...had the Indians waited till the Macedonians came to teach them, they would...humbly have essayed to copy the perfect coins of Alexander now ready to their hands."[6]

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[1] Bhandarkar, p. 38.

[2] Cunningham, p. 53.

[3] Prinsep, p. 69. (Useful Tables.)

[4] Wilson, I. 195.

[5] Rapson, p. 2.

[6] N. Orientalia, p. 55.

The Indian system of counting by "fours" is another evidence of the independent origin of the Indian coinage. The Karshapana of 80 ratis, as distinct from the Satamana of 100 ratis, has been taken to indicate the purely Indian pre-Aryan method, while the latter coin has been regarded as constituted in accordance with the foreign Aryan method.[1]

Discoveries in the Punjab by Bailey and Marshall establishes conclusively that the punch-marked coins are indigenous to India and dated prior to the existence of the independent Bactria.

According to Bhandarkar the technique of the Karshapana, admittedly a coin peculiar to India, as well as its antiquity, clearly points out its indigenous origin.

The controversy may not have been finally settled. But if the idea of the antiquity of the Indian coinage, as discussed above, be regarded as substantially accurate, its indigenous origin cannot be disputed. The evidence however of the existence of coined money in the country prior to the seventh century B. C. is meagre, and even if their circulation at that time is proved beyond any doubt, the origin is not conclusively proved as indigenous but become only probable.

The Indian international trade with Egypt and the western countries is very long standing. Its existence has been noted in history long before the birth of Buddha. So it may not be altogether improbable that the new Lydian devices of trade found their way into India in the seventh century B. C. as soon as they were invented.[2]

There is much to unsettle the theory that the Indian coinage originated in the Greek or any other foreign source. Many a historical evidence in favour of the indigenous origin of the Indian currency has been alluded to. In addition to these it may be argued that India is a country of most ancient civilisation of an indigenous type. Much of its architecture and many of its arts and crafts have been finally found to be of original type. The Sanskrit nomenclature of the ancient Indian coins in contradistinction to the later ones under foreign influence, indicates their indigenous origin. The Indian currency has a distinct method of subdivision and measurement based upon an unit of a native seed-weight (rati) and calculated through "fours" mainly to a practical standard of eighty units metre or "pana" which is almost universal in its application to the measurement of weight, space, value, etc. All these taken together may be regarded as constituting a valid proof towards the indigenousness of the Indian coins. Perhaps it is reasonable to argue that the Indian coinage system was original at its initiation, but was naturally affected by the foreign currencies even at the earliest date through the contact with the Greeks, the Babylonians and the other nations who came in touch with the ancient Hindus from time to time. Surely the system was much modified through foreign contacts in the later historical period.

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[1] N. Orientalia, p. 47, 7, 3.

[2] Universal History, XX, Ch. 31, p. 89.

The foreign influence on the Hindu currency is a well-ascertained fact. Several varieties of foreign coins were in circulation in ancient India *pari passu* with the indigenous coins. The foreign occupiers of the Indian provinces naturally introduced their own systems for political reasons. The international trade connections also made the country recipient of large quantities and numerous varieties of foreign coins of which the remnants still puzzle the brains of the numismatists and often lead them to mistaken calculations, such as the Indian coins at their beginning were of foreign origin, they were not very ancient, etc.

The chief varieties of foreign coins or coins under foreign influence were (1) the Persian, (2) the Athenian, (3) the Graeco-Bactrian, (4) the Parthian and (5) the Roman.

" During...the Achamenid rule (B.C. 500-321) the Persian coins were circulated in the Punjab. Gold double staters were...actually struck in India...Many of the silver Sigloi...have counter-marks so similar to the native punch-marks as to make it probable that the two classes of coins were in circulation together."[1]

"...The owls of Athens were carried in course of commerce to the east...imitations were made in N. India."[2]

No doubt these and other foreign coins influenced the technique of the Indian coins, many varieties of which owed their origins to the direct imitation of the foreign ones which in their turn could not keep themselves altogether free from the Indian influence. An instance to the point may be found in "the adoption of the elephant as a type of the Selucid coins."[3]

A. K. Sarkar

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[1] Rapson, p. 4, 5.
[2] Prinsep, p. 2, Vol. 1.
[3] Rapson, Prinsep, N. Orientalia.

COME NIGHTINGALE !

Come Nightingale ! and let us go,
To the world's farthest shore ;
There we will weep, our bosom's woe,
Of which we have a store.
Thou loved a rose that drooped at noon,
And left thee pining here ;
And I, a maid, who died too soon ;
In her youth's budding year.
Alas ! He sent them for a time,
And took them soon away :
Why should a maid die in her prime,
And a flower in a day ?

Gurdial Singh Wadalia

THE CLASH IN THE FAR EAST[1]

I

CHINA *vs.* JAPAN

The Far Eastern question has loomed large before the public mind for the last six months. The present clash between Japan and China developed dramatically first in Manchuria and then at Shanghai—but even the average person realises that the conflict between the two Asiatic neighbours is a long-standing one. A study of the facts also gives a clear impression that for the last sixty years it is Japan that has been steadily pressing and encroaching upon China.

It is not difficult to see why Japan has so far been successful in her policy of aggrandisement and aggression towards China. Until very recently the military organisation of China was backward and pre-modern while ever since the Restoration of 1868-1869, Japan has made it her chief aim to master the Western methods of destruction and to keep abreast of all progress in the science of war. The Chinese civilisation was eminently pacific and contemptuous of militarism in great contrast to the martial tradition and the intense chauvinism of the Japanese. While the government of Japan became centralised, strong and efficient, the administrative system of China has failed as yet to reorganise itself on a modern basis. A glance at the map shows that strategically the empire of Japan dominates the whole of the Chinese coast except in the extreme south. This geographical position, coupled with the naval power natural to an island people, confers on Japan the choice of attack.

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[1] A paper read at the History Association of the Dacca University.

In actual fighting the greater resources, the scientific organisation and the national qualities of the Japanese give them an advantage over the armed forces of the Chinese. Indeed Japan could have completely dominated China politically and economically but for her vast size, the presence of other interested Powers in the Pacific and the rising tide of national feeling in China since the awakening of 1919.

The story of Japanese pressure upon China is illuminating even in outline. Japanese aggression was occasionally brought about of course by Chinese failure to maintain order and the tendency to evade responsibility. But none the less Japanese action from the beginning showed that the lessons of Imperialism had been learned well by the rising power. As early as 1874, a punitive expedition was sent to Formosa. The Loochoo islands had been long tributary to both China and Japan but in 1875, they were seized by Japan on the familiar excuse of retaliation for the murder of certain people of Loochoo by the aborigines in Formosa. In 1876, Korea was compelled by a naval expedition to cut off her traditional ties with China. When China struggled to recover her old position in the Korean court, Japan went to war in 1894. As a result of victory, not only was Korea placed under Japanese control but Japan annexed Formosa and the Pescadores and above all the important peninsula of Liaotung in South Manchuria (1895). Liaotung was restored to China by the intervention of Russia, France and Germany and part of it was given in lease to Russia. After the Russo-Japanese War, fought on Chinese soil without China's permission, the leased area was however transferred to Japan together with railway concessions in South Manchuria. Meanwhile a Japanese "sphere of interest" was established in the province of Fukien opposite Formosa. Japan also came to share the extraterritorial and fiscal privileges of other foreign Powers in China and joined them in the financial exploitation of that country in the twentieth century, for example through economic concessions and the Reorganisation Loan of 1913. In 1914, the Great War furnished Japan with the opportunity to seize the German lease of Kiaochow when the Japanese troops violated Chinese neutrality while the whole world was ringing with condemnation of Germany's crime against Belgium. Next year Japan served China with the notorious Twenty-one Demands taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the whole world with the War. Group V of these Demands which would have established the effective control of Japan over the administration and military organisation of China was dropped but extensive concessions were secured from the helpless Chinese Government by the 1915 treaties in Manchuria, Shantung and elsewhere. The Treaty of Versailles left Japan in possession of her gains thereby provoking fierce anti-Japanese feeling among all sections of the Chinese. The Washington Conference of 1922 thought it prudent to restore Shantung to China but Japan managed to retain the rest of her privileges intact. Moreover the prohibition to fortify the Pacific islands in future together with the new naval ratio made it impracticable for the United States and England to attack Japan whose position was thereby strengthened in Chinese waters. Since then Japan has maintained her position in a determined fashion as the sending of troops to Shantung in 1927 and the occupation of the same province in 1928-1929 conclusively demonstrate. The present aggression of Japan on China is therefore no isolated phenomenon but part of a consistent and settled policy.

II

JAPAN'S STAKE IN CHINA.

The territorial expansion of modern Japan has not been very remarkable, for on the continent of Asia she possesses only Korea (annexed in 1910) and part of Liaotung peninsula (held on a 99 years' lease) together with the Railway Zone in South Manchuria. Her imperialism might partly be explained by the desire to rank as one of the Great Powers. The methods employed by her copy the highhandedness of the European states in China and recall the treatment meted out to Japan herself in 1863 when foreign warships bombarded the seats of the Satsuma and the Choshu clans as acts of reprisal. But Japan's policy is based upon more fundamental reasons—mainly economic in character. China is at once her greatest market and the most important region for industrial and financial exploitation. Indeed Japan's existence as a Great Power on the basis of a capitalist economy depends upon her control over China so long as she is shut out from other regions of like importance. This explains the Japanese tenacity in holding fast to their privileges in China.

The region in China most vital for Japan is of course Manchuria which, it has been said, is more important to her than India is to Britain. Prof. Vinacke describes Manchuria as a Far Eastern Alsace-Lorraine. The Japanese dominate in Manchuria and have established themselves by the treaties of 1905 and 1915. But Manchuria has always been regarded as part of China inspite of racial and geographical differences and legally the three provinces are still Chinese territory. China naturally aspires to recover control of Manchuria—at least to check Japan's economic empire over the region. While Japan might claim that the development of Manchuria is due to Japanese capital and enterprise and prohibition of civil wars, China is not ready to surrender her sovereignty and attributes Manchurian prosperity to the settlement of Chinese workers there. The situation is complicated by the Russian right to control the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria but the Soviet Power seems to have abandoned the Tsarist policy of penetration while resolutely maintaining its hold on the Railway which links Vladivostok with the West. Yet another factor is provided by the semi-autonomous character of Manchuria under the son of the war-lord Chang Tso-lin which seems to be at present on the point of being transformed into independence under the Manchu dynasty—a process bound to be very welcome to Japan.

Economically, Manchuria is too valuable for Japan to relax her hold.[1] The vast plains are designed to be her granary with their great agricultural resources. Manchuria has not been used as a region for colonisation but she is both an all-important source of raw materials and an expending market for Japan's industries which are solving her population problem. The mineral wealth of the country is being exploited by what is in effect Japan's biggest foreign investment. The phenomenal growth of the Soya bean which can be utilised as food and fodder, oil and fertiliser and the rich supply of timber increase the volume of trade year by year. The Manchurian regions are the hinterland of the great Japanese modern ice-free ports of Dairen and Antung. Manchuria is developing under Japanese control and for Japan's benefit, the guidance of the whole process being in the hands of the latest example of a giant chartered company [2]—the South Manchurian Railway. The Railway and the Railway Zone are part of the Japanese lease but the activities of the corporation stretch like nerves through the length and breadth of South Manchuria. It possesses military guards under treaty right who patrol the lines and district agencies. Its "Subsidiary establishments and collateral privileges" include running of mines, factories, docks, shipping, hotels and educational institutions. The Railway is the chief instrument of Japanese penetration in Manchuria and it is therefore not difficult to see why the proposal in 1910 of Secretary Knox of America to neutralise the Manchurian railroads proved unacceptable to Japan.

A fruitful source of discord between China and Japan has arisen over the interpretation of the Manchurian treaties together with their secret protocols. They mean according to Japan for example the restriction of the entry of non-Japanese capital in Manchuria and the prohibition of the construction of railroads competing with the South Manchurian Railway. Recently China has been threatening Japan's economic ascendancy. Based on cheap labour Chinese cotton is ousting Japanese mill-products. China is constructing an ice-free port of her own in Manchurian waters—Hulutao, which is to be completed by next year. She is credited with a plan of building railways parallel to the South Manchurian lines. The real origin of the recent trouble therefore can be traced to the natural desire of China to regain economic control of her Manchurian provinces which Japan is in no mood to tolerate—intent on preserving her present prosperity.

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[1] See the article on Manchuria by W. L. Smyser in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1931.

[2] See Prof. Zimmern's article on Manchuria in the *Political Quarterly*, Vol. III.

III

A Chronicle of Events.

The actual events of the present crisis can now be summarised briefly. In last summer friction between the two countries was constant. In July, there was a clash between the Korean subjects of Japan resident in Manchuria (aided by the Japanese police) and the Chinese, at Wanpaoshan, followed by outrages in Korea against Chinese residents and attacks on Koreans in Manchuria. China and Japan demanded from each other formal apology, indemnity and the punishment of offenders. The news of the murder of Captain Nakamura of the Japanese General Staff on the borders of Mongolia and Manchuria further excited Japanese feelings and early in September the Press and the War Office were urging the Government to take action. On the 18th September there was an attack on the South Manchurian Railway north of Mukden and on the next day the Japanese troops occupied all the key positions in South Manchuria. The movement of troops was carried out in a few hours evidently according to pre-arranged plans. The occupation of towns beyond the Railway

Zone constituted a violation of Chinese territory but full responsibility for the step was taken by General Honjo, the Japanese commander of the Liaotung lease. The Tokyo cabinet was faced with an accomplished fact and in face of the feelings of the Army and the people, it had no option but to approve. Students of Japanese constitution know that the War Office is directly under the Emperor. The higher commands of the Army and the Navy are monopolised by the two great clans—Choshu and Satsuma. This peculiar independence of the military organisation is vividly illustrated by General Honjo's decision on the 18th September last, by his later refusal to withdraw from the "security occupation" of Manchuria to please the League Council and by the action of the Japanese Admiral off Shanghai at the beginning of the present year. Popular clamour forced the Japanese Government to back the armed forces in the present crisis at every successive step. Meanwhile the Japanese occupation of Manchuria aroused intense agitation in China against Japan for all factions equally resent Japan's high-handed actions. There were riots and demonstrations at Hongkong, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow and other centres. The students were furious against the inactivity of the Nanking Government and compelled by physical force the resignation of C. T. Wang, the Foreign Minister. As the League failed to secure Japanese withdrawal from Manchuria, the Chinese people resorted to the boycott which was beyond the power of the Government to relax as Nanking informed Tokyo in response to protests. Constant practice has perfected the weapon of the organised boycott in China and Japanese trade suffered immensely as a result when goods from Japanese ships could not even be landed in the various ports. Meanwhile the extension of Japanese military control in Manchuria led to fighting like that on the Nonni bridge near Tsitsihar early in November. One month later the bombing and occupation of Chinchow completed Japan's sway over Manchuria. But the persistence of the boycott and the fall of the moderate government of Chiang Kaishek were ominous for Japan. The attack upon certain Japanese monks in the Chinese city of Shanghai in the middle of January served as a pretext for the presentation of an ultimatum by the Japanese Admiral to the Mayor of Shanghai, demanding the dissolution of the boycott associations. The reply being considered unsatisfactory, troops were landed by Japan and the armed conflict began near Shanghai which is in progress at the time of writing.

IV

THE FAILURE OF PEACE EFFORTS

The part played by Japan in the recent crisis to protect her economic empire is in keeping with her traditional policy, but the most disquieting feature of the situation is the failure to stop hostilities in the Far East. Three treaties have proved unavailing—the League Covenant of 1919, the Nine Powers Treaty of 1922 regarding China and the Kellogg Pact of 1928. One of the parties—China—restrained its forces for a long time and repeatedly appealed to the League for protection. Japan's conduct was not upheld by a single member of the League Council besides herself. No wonder that the failure to stop Japan in spite of all this is commonly regarded as the greatest blow to the prestige of the League of Nations in its whole career.

It is however easy to blame the League of Nations and easier still to overlook its great difficulties. Nor must it be forgotten that the League has hampered Japan's freedom of action in the last six months to a certain extent. A formal war would have left the whole of China at the mercy of Japanese militarism but Japan has not dared to go to war. In a war China would have lost by this time most probably her legal ownership of Manchuria and her economic freedom so far as it exists. Moreover, it is doubtful whether Japan would be after all allowed to secure any new concessions in China now which she might naturally have acquired by a treaty through the stress of war. League obligations have also enabled the Chinese Government to hold in check the clamorous war party and thus to avoid a declaration of war by China which would have been most welcome to Japan.

China appealed to the League on September 20, under Article 11 of the Covenant which declares any war or threat of war to be a matter of concern for the whole League. In reply to the request of the Council, China undertook to protect foreign residents adequately and Japan promised withdrawal of troops as soon as the situation improved. A unanimous resolution of the Council on September 30, recorded both the pledges. This resolution though legally binding has not yet been carried out in Manchuria.

The Council met again on October 13, and by special invitation the United States sent a representative to attend the Council meetings but not as a full member.[1] Japan maintained that the boycott movement constituted the chief obstacle to withdrawal and that five "fundamental points" (including suppression of organised boycott, respect for Japan's treaty-rights and effective protection of Japanese nationals) must be accepted by China before evacuation. The Tokyo Government was thus making a stand to cover the action of the Japanese Higher Command. The resolution of the Council on October 24, requiring Japanese withdrawal by November 16, from Manchuria, was blocked by the single vote of Japan for it must be remembered that Article 5 says that unless otherwise expressly provided the rule of unanimity is required for a valid decision of the League.

China's offer of settling the dispute by arbitration or judicial settlement under Article 13 proving unacceptable to Japan, the Council met again on November 16. The fighting in Manchuria and the extension of occupation were explained by Japan as defensive operations provoked by the activity of bandits. Finally the Council unanimously accepted the Japanese proposal for sending out a neutral commission of five to study the situation in Manchuria but with no power to stop military movements.

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[1] See *League of Nations Monthly Summary* for October, 1931.

The outcome was the Lytton Commission which is moving so leisurely that the work does not seem to have started yet.

On the extension of the conflict to Shanghai, the League ordered an enquiry by the local foreign officials and unsuccessfully appealed to Japan to observe her treaty obligations. Actions taken by the United States and Britain however produced more effect on Japan and a settlement in the Far East might yet be effected by this new development together with the summoning of the League Assembly in March to consider China's appeal under Article 15 which provides for reference of disputes to the League for decision and leads on to Article 16 with its threat of economic blockade and other sanctions against a violator of the Covenant.

The policy of masterly inactivity of the League is partly explained by its great difficulties. The rule of unanimity is a serious handicap but if the League had been empowered by the Covenant to act upon a majority decision in all cases what would have become of national independence—the cherished ideal of all peoples? Articles 15 and 16 of course allow the League to exclude the disputants under certain circumstances from voting and then impose the decision of the rest by various sanctions. But then coercion is a method from which naturally there is a shrinking—the League's proper function being persuasion. Article 10 guarantees the territorial integrity of member states but that is interpreted to mean merely the prevention of forcible *transfer* of the possessions of one country to another. The League is weak also because two Great Powers—Russia and the United States—are still outside and finally a hectoring attitude towards Japan might lead to her resignation from the League and non-co-operation with the Disarmament Conference.

Yet the League even with its limited powers could have done much more. The issue in September and October was simple and an insistence on immediate withdrawal of the Japanese would have had far-reaching moral effects. A threat to suspend diplomatic relation would have brought Japan to reason. The boldness of Japan increased in proportion to the hesitation of the League which missed the golden opportunity of demanding an evacuation of Manchuria before discussing anything extraneous to the main point. The Manchurian Commission should not have been allowed to dawdle and waste time. Landing of troops at Shanghai should have been forbidden unequivocally. It was quite within the power of the League Council to maintain clearly that Japan might have had any number of grievances but the proper way to settle them was appeal to the League itself and not military invasion. It was fear of the consequences which held the Council back but obviously this is the worst kind of caution, for the example of Japan constitutes a dangerous precedent for any Great Power whose interests are threatened in any part of the world. Even if Japan had withdrawn from the League on the adoption of a strong attitude by the Council—such resignation would not have had immediate effect (Article 1, para. 3 of the Covenant) and in the interval the League's prestige would have been saved. The real reason for the weakness of the Council is the attitude of the Great Powers on the question. Apparently the suggestion of Mr. William Martin (*The Spectator*, December 19, 1931) is correct that at the London Conference of 1929, a free hand was given to Japan in Manchuria by secret understandings between herself and the other naval powers which however cannot legally bind the League of Nations. Again, the minor states on the League Council ought to have asserted themselves—and Spain, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Irish Free State, Guatemala, Panama and Peru cannot escape their share of responsibility for meekly following the lead of the Great Powers in a critical moment in the fortunes of the League. In the present crisis, nation states, big and small, have all failed to uphold the honour of the international organisation ushered in with such hopes after the horrors of the World War. The result is that Japan has been allowed to treat no less than three treaties as mere "scraps of paper." As Prof. Zimmern drily remarks in the *Political Quarterly* (Vol. III, No. I) Bethmann-Hollweg in 1914 made a slight miscalculation. He should have violated three treaties and not one only.

V

The Theory of Reprisal.

Japan to-day stands before the bar of world opinion charged with breach of International Law but she has tried to justify her conduct on grounds which deserve serious consideration. There are two chief arguments which can be put forward on her behalf—namely that the military operations undertaken so far do not constitute war but are merely reprisals which have never been prohibited ; and that China in her present disorganised condition is not a state at all. The contentions are plausible to a certain extent but not fully convincing.

It is true that War is distinguished from Reprisals in International Law. Both consist of violent operations, the difference being in the degree. Yet the legal consequences are clearly different. For example War means cessation of mutual diplomatic relations, restrictions on and legal disabilities of enemy subjects within a state, enforcement of the right of search and even of capture occasionally of neutral merchantmen and the abrogation or suspension of many kinds of treaties to which the disputants are parties. In a war again, a belligerent has the right to continue the struggle as long as he likes. Reprisals fall short of all these characteristics of War. Past history abounds in illustrations of acts of reprisals which have been held to be no war at all.

Now it may be argued that the League Covenant did not prohibit reprisals for the terms used in the relevant Articles are—" war or threat of war " and " disputes likely to lead to a rupture."

At the time of the bombardment of Corfu in 1923, Italy took exactly this line and the Committee of Jurists partially upheld this view. Similarly, the Paris Pact may be said to have renounced War but not Reprisals. The danger of such arguments was perceived by Westlake as early as 1909 when he drew attention to the fact that the Hague Convention III of 1907 by prohibiting declarations of war in the absence of notice would encourage military action in the guise of reprisals.[1] His warning was unheeded in the drafting of the Covenant and the anti-war Pact. In one respect matters have become worse. Formerly there was a natural check to reprisals in the probability that any high-spirited state would declare war rather than submit to reprisals. But now a declaration of war would be a clear violation of treaties in most cases while reprisals might be argued to be well within the limits of legal right.

Significantly enough, recent Chinese history provides many examples of the use of force without resort to war so that Japan might point out precedents for her conduct—if that is any excuse. Even if we consider the Shanghai shootings of May-June, 1925, as within the competence of the authorities of the International Settlement, the British firing at Cantonese demonstrations in the same year, the bombardment of Wahnsein in 1926 and the Nanking barrage in 1927 illustrate the above point. Military raids were carried out by Russia to protect the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929 and Japan kept troops in Shantung without much protest during 1927-1928. Japan might be forgiven in her consequent belief that International Law did not apply to China.

But the fact is that there is a common-sense distinction between Reprisals and War and Japan has transgressed the limit between the two. It is not permissible to carry on the latter in the garb of the former. International Law distinguishes between the two but it emphatically asserts that the extent of reprisals must be proportionate to the injury sustained. It is equally clear that reprisals must cease as soon as the other party offers negotiation or arbitration. In any case, when reprisals are resisted and there is the risk of large-scale fighting, a condition of war arises even if there is no formal declaration of it. These are as much rules of International Law as the subtle distinction between War and Reprisals. It is a sophistry to admit a convenient rule and ignore awkward ones.

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[1] See Westlake's *Collected Papers* (War and Reprisals).

VI

THE STATUS OF CHINA.

The argument upon which however Japan seems to have relied most is the contention that China at present is not a state at all but a region in anarchy—that it has reverted as it were to a " state of nature." The rule of the Nanking Government is a fiction and there is no central control over bandit-groups and mobs for example. Yet in the same breath Japan demands from the same government the suppression of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Again in reply to the protest of the United States under the Paris Pact, Japan insisted that the toleration of the boycott by the Chinese Government was a violation of its responsibility incurred under Article 2 of the document which requires pacific solution of all disputes. One may be tempted to ask how is it possible to reconcile the two attitudes mentioned above but obviously logic is foreign to the great art of diplomacy.

There arises the further question as to when China ceased to be a distinct state according to the Japanese theory. In 1922 at the Washington Conference China was treated as an organised state by Japan and yet her Government then was less well-established than the present Kuo-Min Tang regime. Even in the early stages of the present conflict, Japan proclaimed her preference for direct negotiations with China regarding the so-called " fundamental principles " to the interference of the League of Nations. Once again it must be pointed out that a case is spoiled by flagrant inconsistency.

Finally it is worth stressing that a serious problem like the status of a country in International Law cannot be assumed to have been settled by the isolated decision of one state. That freedom would mean the end of all law between nations. Such action is all the more reprehensible in the present case for the Nine Powers Treaty contains a clear pledge on their part to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. If this does not mean the prohibition of action such as taken recently by Japan, there cannot be any talk in future about any " treaty rights " at all.

VII.

THE FUTURE.

There is therefore an almost conclusive case against Japan and in favour of the contention that she has violated not only the spirit of her solemn undertakings but also the letter according to any reasonable interpretation of terms. It is impossible to know how far matters would drift in the Far East though already there are signs that Japan having upset the balance, Anglo-American co-operation of the pre-war type might succeed where the League has not ventured to interfere. It remains however to point out a few lessons for the future.

The failure of the League to-day ought not to mean the rejection of the League idea and the League method for that would worsen the situation. What is wanted is rather to put pressure upon the League machinery by creating a formidable public opinion in different countries. It is a difficult task but more profitable than crying down the League of Nations. There must be an insistent demand everywhere for the observance of the Covenant even with its limited possibilities. The only consistent alternative to the League organisation is the Communist world revolution in which most people have no great faith.

The aims of the League might be furthered in spite of the Government members of the League by organised private action under centralised control. Unions might be built up for example which would boycott and put pressure upon any country which breaks the Covenant.

There is a necessity of agitation for the revision of the Covenant also. It is certainly desirable to prohibit any kind of military action even if it is an act of reprisal before the League is given a chance to settle the dispute. Theoretically this cannot be a greater interference with state sovereignty than the existing restrictions on the right of war. The use of violence under certain circumstances was prohibited as early as 1907 when Hague Convention II made it illegal to employ force to recover contract debts between nations.

Experience has also shown the correctness of Oppenheim's belief that the League Council being a political body is highly unsuited to act as conciliator. A separate Council of Conciliation functioning for the purposes of Article 15 might after all be an improvement on the present condition.

Much can be accomplished in these directions if public opinion is aroused and directed to definite proposals and if a number of small States of the World resolutely assert their legal right to demand a reform of the League of Nations. If anything of this nature comes out of it even the Far Eastern crisis would have its good results.

But the Far Eastern Question can never be completely set at rest until economic imperialism as a system is replaced all over the world by some other kind of organisation which ensures the prosperity of all peoples. It is unfair to expect that Japan alone would surrender her prospects while other Powers continue their merry career of exploitation in different parts of the world. None of the Great Powers have a clean record in this respect and that explains the latitude given to Japan in the Far East. Japan has placed herself in a false position but the troubles in China are merely part of a much wider problem—that of capitalist imperialism.

S. C. SARKAR

WHY THE IMPORT OF RAW COTTON SHOULD NOT BE DISCOURAGED

Since the last year we are witnessing a very keen controversy in the country in regard to the advisability or otherwise of the import of raw cotton from foreign countries for use in the mills situated in India for the purpose of manufacture of cloth. The present Swadeshi movement is a great help to the cotton mill industry of India and but for the Swadeshi propaganda the cotton mill industry would have been in a languishing state at the present time. This being so, a certain section of the people put forward the argument that in appreciation of the several benefits that the propaganda for Swadeshi and Khaddar has brought to the mill industry, the mill-owners should not betray the interests of the country by importing cotton from other countries when there is enough cotton available inside the country. The reason that are put forward against the importation of raw cotton from foreign countries are that the price of Indian cotton undergoes a considerable fall, that the demand for Indian cotton is reduced, and it is urged that the goods manufactured from such imported cotton cannot be called purely Swadeshi and should not therefore receive the patronage of the people.

On a little consideration it will be found that these arguments are not very cogent and convincing. In the first place, it ought to be remembered that a great bulk of the cotton grown in India is suitable only for coarse spinning, whereas the cotton imported from Kenya, Egypt and the United States of America is of long staple suited for spinning high counts of yarn for the manufacture of fine fabrics. The quality of the raw cotton imported from abroad being thus different from the cotton produced in the country (except perhaps in the case of American cotton which is of a little shorter staple than that imported from Egypt, etc.), it is hardly correct to say that the consumption of Indian cotton in India is reduced by such imports. I am not unaware that in reply to this it would be urged that to the extent that foreign cotton is imported the use of Indian cotton is reduced because if foreign cotton was not imported, Indian cotton would have been used in its place, even though it was of inferior quality and suitable for only coarse spinning. This, however, cannot convince anyone because the foreign cotton does not in any sense replace Indian cotton. The importation of foreign cotton being of long-stapled quality, the like of which is not produced in the country, it is not true to say that it substitutes Indian cotton ; it only supplements it.

Cotton Consumption Statistic.

Let us now see the statistics of the production, consumption and export and import of cotton in India. The total Indian crop for the season 1928-29 was 57 lakhs of bales and the estimated crop for the season 1929-30 was 52 lakhs of bales. The estimated yield of cotton for the season 1930-31 is according to the supplementary official memorandum of Indian crop issued on the 23rd April, 1931, 48 lakhs of bales. Out of this the mill consumption of Indian cotton in the year 1928-29 was 17 lakhs of bales and in the year 1929-30, 22 lakhs of bales. During the year 1930-31 the mills are consuming about 2 lakhs of bales per month. It also appears that the Indian mills will continue to take at least this quantity of raw cotton in the future, if not more, to comply with the increasing demand of cloth made inside the country. The consumption of Indian cotton on the hand-spinning wheels is also decidedly on the increase, and shows signs of increasing still more. The export of Indian cotton during the year 1928-29 was 37 lakhs of bales, during the year 1929-30, 40 lakhs of bales, and during the year 1930-31, 39 lakhs of bales. The export of Indian cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931, amounted to 14 lakhs of bales as compared with 18 lakhs of bales for a similar period during the year 1930. The import of raw cotton from outside India in 1928-29 was 162,000 bales, in 1929-30, 134,000 bales and in 1930-31 370,000 bales (approximately). The import of raw cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931 amounted to 311,000 bales as compared with 140,000 bales for a similar period during the year 1930, *i.e.*, roughly double the quantity. The value of imports of raw cotton during 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31 amounted to Rs. 390 lakhs, Rs. 342 lakhs and Rs. 638 lakhs respectively. The value of the imports of raw cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931, amounted to Rs. 467 lakhs as compared with Rs. 281 lakhs for a similar period during the year 1930. The value of the exports of raw cotton from India during the years 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31 amounted to Rs. 66 crores, Rs. 65 crores and Rs. 46 crores. The value of the export of Indian cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931 amounted to Rs. 14 crores as compared with Rs. 24 crores for a similar period during the year 1930. The reduction in the value of the exports is due to the low price of cotton consequent on the prevalent trade depression all over the world. It is a very encouraging feature that the quantity of the cotton exported from India has now undergone any appreciable fall in spite of the fact that there is a diminished consumption of cotton throughout the whole world. This is due to the fact that many manufacturers especially, in Lancashire, are adapting their spindles to the use of Indian cotton in substitution of American cotton, due largely to the cheapness of Indian cotton as compared with American cotton. Japan has similarly increased its consumption of Indian cotton, and although the mill activities in Japan and Lancashire were restricted during the past several months due to the boycott movement in India and the prevalent trade depression all the world over, the consumption of Indian cotton has been considerable in both the countries.

From the figures given above, it is easy to see that the quantity of cotton imported during the last three years varies between 3 per cent. to 6 per cent. of the total Indian crop, and amounts to only about 7 per cent. to 14 per cent. of the total consumption of Indian cotton by the Indian mills. It would therefore be hardly correct to say that the consumption of foreign cotton in India by the mills appreciably affects the price of Indian cotton which depends largely on the price of American cotton. A large part of the Indian crop of cotton is exported to foreign countries and the price which the entire cotton crop can secure is the price which the Indian cotton can realise in the world's market for its exportable surplus. The argument that the importation of foreign cotton reduces to a considerable extent the price of the Indian crop of cotton is hardly tenable, particularly because the cotton that is imported, does not directly compete with Indian cotton. While the best Indian cotton like Navsari and Cambodia can be made use of for spinning up to 30's only, much of the raw cotton imported from abroad is used for spinning counts from 40's and upwards. The price of Indian cotton as pointed out above is determined by the world factor and can hardly be said to be affected to any appreciable extent by the importation of foreign cotton in India.

The Indian National Congress has been approached recently with a request that the goods manufactured by mills from foreign raw cotton should not receive the patronage of the people as they cannot be called purely Swadeshi. This contention is so absurd that it has to be mentioned only to be rejected. There would be some point in a contention of this character, if it could be proved that imported cotton is of a quality similar to the quality of cotton available from inside the country and is such as can substitute Indian cotton, thereby decreasing the internal demand of such cotton inside the country. That, however, is not the case.

It may then be enquired why it is necessary for India to import long-stapled foreign cotton and why the mills cannot consume all Indian cotton in preference to foreign imported cotton, even though long-stapled cotton is not available inside the country. India can have two goals before her, *viz.*, either (1) to consume Indian cotton inside the country by manufacturing cloth out of it and exporting the surplus manufactured cloth outside India, or (2) to manufacture the quality and quantity of cloth required by her from such raw cotton as is produced inside the country, and to import the balance of the desired quality of raw cotton from foreign countries. It is too well-known that we do not produce enough long-stapled cotton for meeting the requirements of the country for fine cloth. Further, it will be conceded by every one that at the present time at any rate, it is not possible for India to consume all the raw cotton produced by her and to export manufactured cotton goods to other countries, due largely to the fact that we cannot stand competition with advanced countries like Lancashire, Japan, etc., ; we are, therefore, left to producing the necessary cloth required by the country from cotton produced inside the country, and cotton imported from outside for special purposes. The most cogent argument against banning the import of long-stapled cotton from other countries is furnished by the necessity and the desirability of manufacturing fine fabrics in India in order to replace similar fabrics imported at present from Lancashire, Japan, Italy and other countries. The Indian cotton is of too short a staple to produce yarn of very high counts necessary for the weaving of fine and delicate fabrics. The imported long-stapled cotton is meant only for spinning high counts and it is too expensive to be used for the manufacture of coarse goods (it cannot thus in any way be said to compete with Indian short-stapled cotton). If the object of the nation in undertaking the propaganda of Swadeshi is to be fully achieved, that is, if the requirements of cloth in India are to be produced internally by the mills as well as the hand-looms no ban should be imposed on the importation of long-stapled cotton from foreign countries, it should not be banned or discouraged in any way, till such time as sufficient long-stapled cotton is available inside the country, for turning out fine yarn necessary for manufacturing goods of a quality similar to that of imported ones with a view to replace them, or till such time as the taste of the people is revolutionised as a result of the propaganda for Khaddar and the necessity of producing fine yarn and fine fabrics is completely obviated. We are all aware that it is not possible to induce all the people in the country to give up the use of finer varieties of cloth all of a sudden and to accept coarse cloth woven from, say, 20's. We have not been able to induce all the people even to wear Khaddar in preference to mill-cloth, because the former is a little coarser than the latter. It is, therefore, too much to expect the whole nation to turn suddenly to the use of such garments as can be made from the short-stapled cotton that is grown inside the country. If we are to depend on this sudden change coming and, with that end in view, if we put a ban on the importation of raw cotton from abroad, this object of making India independent of foreign sources for the supply of the cloth needed by her, will be delayed or made impossible of achievement and we will thus be doing a great disservice to the country. In order to enable us to reach our goal as quickly as possible, we ought to encourage the use of imported raw long-stapled cotton so that the demands of the people who cannot give us at once the use of fine cloth, can be met by the cloth manufactured inside the country from such raw long-stapled cotton. If we ban the use of imported cotton, its effect will be that the Indian demand for finer fabrics will have to be met by imports from foreign countries. If we increase the cost of imported raw cotton by imposing a duty on it, we will be virtually increasing the cost of raw materials for spinning 40's and upwards and the effect of this will be that our mills will be handicapped in competing with foreign countries in their finer goods. Thus while not discouraging the import of long-stapled raw cotton from foreign countries, on the one hand, we must make an endeavour, on the other hand, to produce more and more long-stapled cotton in substitution for the present short-stapled cotton inside the country. The Indian Central Cotton Committee informed the Tariff Board in the year 1927, that of the total Indian crop of 60 lakhs of bales, there would be about 20 lakhs of bales of long-stapled cotton of which 320,000 bales or 16 per cent. may be taken as suitable for warp yarn of 30/36 counts and an additional 50,000 or 3 per cent. for weft yarn of 30/36 counts (*vide* page 259 of the Tariff Board's Report). I may state, however, that these figures are not reliable according to several authorities intimately connected with the Indian Cotton Textile Industry. It is likely that the experiments in spinning may have been carried out in the Matunga Library of the Indian Central Cotton Committee under ideal conditions. But ordinarily it is not possible to manufacture such high counts of yarn from Indian cotton. Several persons connected with the Indian cotton industry are of the opinion that the quantity of Indian cotton producing above 18's would be roughly about 10 lakhs of bales. Be this as it may, there is no doubt, that India is capable of growing a larger quantity of long-stapled cotton in order to supply the requirements of the Indian mills and hand-looms for such cotton. But it is doubtful whether the premium paid to the grower of long-stapled cotton would be sufficient to compensate him for the loss n out-turn, and ginning percentage which he is bound to suffer. As far as the mills are concerned, they would find it is their nterest to obtain such long-stapled cotton in India at their doors rather than have to import the same. The Indian Central Cotton Committee and the Agriculture Departments of the Provincial Governments, should render all help to the cultivators n the problem of growth of long-stapled cotton in India, by providing necessary facilities, *e.g.*, seeds, irrigation, research, specific investigation, etc., and should make it worth the while for the cultivators to grow long-stapled cotton for the requirements of the Indian Cotton Industry.

Competition with Lancashire.

Until, however, we can produce inside the country an adequate supply of long-stapled raw cotton, there ought not to be any objection to importing such cotton from foreign countries, because it is the desire of the nation that we should exclude foreign cloth as quickly and as much as possible, and as observed above, this cannot be done to a great extent if we put a ban on the import of long-stapled cotton from abroad for the purpose of manufacturing cloth of a fine quality. Further, there ought not to be ordinarily any objection in purchasing raw materials from other countries of the world for the purpose of manufacturing goods from them, and thus ousting the imports of cloth manufactured from the same material by other countries. Besides, we ought not to forget that raw cotton is not a manufactured or even a semi-manufactured product like yarn, and therefore there ought to be no objection or hesitation in importing raw cotton, which is only a raw material, till such time, at any rate, as similar long-stapled cotton can be had inside the country, and till such time as the requirements of fine cloth which can only be manufactured from such cotton exist inside the country.

In this connection, it would be of interest to note that in the year 1875, it was the Government of India that imposed a 5 per cent. duty at the behest of Lancashire, on the import of Egyptian and American cotton in India, in order to prevent India from importing such superior cotton and competing with Manchester in her fine goods (*vide* Landmarks of the Policy of the British Government in India or in Great Britain, in regard to the cotton industry of India, given in author's book on "How to compete with Foreign Cloth"). The country and the Congress ought therefore to be careful and should reject this short-sighted policy of banning the import of raw cotton or of making it dearer by imposition of a duty, as by so doing we will be only helping Manchester to retain her position in the supply of cloth and yarn to this country, because it will not be possible for India to stop completely the import of fine varieties of cloth and higher counts of yarn till cloth of a similar superior quality can be manufactured inside the country. What is more, it should not be forgotten that having accepted the goal of making India self-sufficient in regard to cloth, and of eliminating the foreign cloth, and yarn evil, we should not at all hesitate in importing long-stapled raw cotton from foreign countries in order to crown the efforts made by the Congress under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, with the success which it may deserve.

It is a matter of great regret that in order to meet the deficit caused in the Budget the Government of India have imposed in their Supplementary Budget a duty of half an anna per lb. on all imports of raw cotton from foreign countries with effect from September, 1931. The import duty of half anna per lb. works out to about Rs. 24-8 per candy. This will directly handicap the Indian textile industry particularly in competition with finer Lancashire goods for the manufacture of which such long-stapled raw cotton is imported by the cotton Mills in India. The Indian Fiscal Commission also definitely laid down that the raw materials of an industry should not be taxed, but the Government of India have been totally indifferent to these observations of the Fiscal Commission, although they have generally accepted that principle. The imposition of this duty has also adversely affected cotton growing in Uganda where Indians have invested crores of rupees for the growing of cotton.

India should be made self-sufficient in the manufacture of Cloth.

I hope every unbiased person will agree with me when I say that the whole nation will not be prepared to turn at once to the use of coarse cloth that can be made from Indian cotton of short staple and that it is therefore necessary to initiate them into the use of finer cloth made inside the country (even after importing long-stapled cotton from foreign countries) by making the cloth as attractive and as similar in texture, fineness, etc., as possible to the imported cloth to the use of which the people may have been accustomed for a long time and which they may find it difficult to give up all of a sudden. I also trust that the short-sighted policy of banning the import of raw cotton or of increasing its cost by imposing a duty on it, will not be advocated from any reasonable quarter after consideration of all the various factors enumerated above, and I cherish the hope that such a policy will in no case be accepted by the Congress, especially because it is fraught with the danger of retarding the goal of self-sufficiency in the matter of supply of cloth from internal sources.

Mahatma Gandhi's Views.

In the end, I might state for the information of the reader that I have had an opportunity of consulting Mahatma Gandhi on this subject on two occasions only recently. He said that he personally believed that India can take the necessary raw cotton from other countries. While Mahatma Gandhi would desire the whole country to be clad in coarse hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, he has taken this businesslike view of not banning the import of raw cotton in appreciation of the various circumstances enumerated above, *e.g.*, (1) that cotton is only a raw material, and that there should be nothing wrong in importing raw material for the purpose of manufacturing cloth from it, particularly when it does not compete directly with Indian cotton which is of a shorter staple, (2) that it will not be possible for the whole nation to take to khaddar, or for the matter of that to even coarse mill-made cloth all of a sudden, and (3) that if encouragement is not given for the manufacture of fine cloth from superior quality of cotton, and if the mills are thus handicapped in competing with foreign countries, it will virtually mean the postponement of the day when foreign cloth can be completely excluded from the country. A note may also be taken of the fact that of the import of raw cotton from foreign countries, nearly half the quantity is from Kenya Colony where the interest of Indians in growing cotton is predominant.

M. P. GANDHI

NEGATION.

Before trying to discover what negation *is*, let us first try to ascertain what negation is *not*, and since I wish to maintain the objectivity of negation against those who condemn it as merely subjective, or at any rate more abstract and reflective than affirmation, I intend to employ negation as the method of my definition, implying in this very employment that negation is both real and significant. And even the severest of my critics—however much he might differ from some of the positions I wish to take up—cannot do so without necessarily accepting in principle my contention of the objectivity of negation. His most vehement denials will only strengthen my case.

We can start by saying that negation is not subjective. Even if it were, it would tell us nothing about negation, for to call it subjective merely means that there is no existent fact to correspond to our assertion, but that would be to explain negation in terms of itself. On the other hand, what is subjective, *i.e.*, the state of our mind, is itself an objective fact, but cannot explain in any way what negation is. The attempt to explain negation by calling it subjective therefore fails, whether we refer to the statement made or to the state of our mind in making it.

And this is obvious even if we take examples like 'Virtue is not square' or ' Truth is not to the left of the Pyramids ' which in the arbitrary choice of predicates almost approximate to the ludicrous and nonsensical and tend to lose their character as judgments. For even here, so far as we *mean* anything at all and do not merely join words or ideas arbitrarily, *i.e.*, so far as there is a judgment at all, it is controlled not by our predilections, but by something in the nature of the object about which we judge. Even in these extreme examples, it is not *we* who exclude the predicate from the subject, but merely come to apprehend that the predicate is excluded by the nature of the subject.

Nor can we deny reality to negation on the ground that it depends upon our ignorance or doubt. Those who attack it on that ground do so because they assume that the real ground of negation is a corresponding affirmative which however we do not know, for, if we knew the positive basis of the statement, why should we ever make a negative judgment? We shall examine later whether the ground of negation is always, or can ever be, a corresponding affirmation and we shall find that negation and affirmation involve one another and 'cannot' therefore be regarded as the presupposition of one another. But even if we granted the critic his contention, we could still say that a negative judgment may express a real fact and one which is both knowable and worth knowing. The predicate may be denied, not as a result of ignorance or doubt, but as the result of knowledge of the difference between subject and predicate within the whole of the judgment. No critic can deny the difference between 'I *do not know* A is B' and 'I *know* A is *not* B,' and the recognition of the teleological negative as real is an implicit acceptance of this distinction. Also, though the ground of the negation 'A is not C' may be the affirmative 'A is B,' the two assertions are by no means identical and require the further judgment 'B is not C.' Hence even if the ground of our negation is an affirmative, it cannot be the same as the negative, and there is no *prima facie* reason that we should necessarily give up the negation on the discovery of its ground.

There is another line of attack on negation which condemns it as subjective because it attributes disjunctive character to a particular. The argument runs: 'A negative judgment is possible only where the predicate is one of a set of alternatives judged true of a universal of which the subject is a particular case. Since the whole force of genuine negation is thus eliminative, it rests on a true disjunction but the disjunctive character cannot belong to a particular. Any A cannot be B-or-C, but must be B or must be C, and as soon as we know it to be B, we also know it cannot be C, and therefore 'A is B or C' becomes false. Any particular triangle cannot be isosceles or scalene, because as a particular it must have a determinate character and cannot be left indeterminate: to attribute indeterminateness of existence to a particular is to deny its existence altogether.

Postponing for the moment the discussion whether disjunctive character belongs to a particular or a universal, we may first question whether the whole force of the negative judgment is merely eliminative, and secondly, whether the negation depends on a previous disjunction. We have seen that even these critics of negation admit that the teleological negative is not a case of mere elimination, and I am for the moment content to rest with this concession, and also to urge that we have already pointed out that the ground of negation, if any, is not identical with the negation itself, and cannot explain away the negative character since it involves a negative element. If a disjunction is indeed involved in the negation, and the whole force of the negative is eliminative, yet that cannot explain by itself the character of the negation, for the very good reason that negation is equally involved in disjunction, and that the passage from disjunction to eliminative negation cannot be made without an independent negative premise. Further a disjunction may precede an affirmation as well, and in many scientific discoveries, a disjunctive of the alternative possibilities has preceded and indeed made possible the final affirmation. If we analyse a disjunctive judgment, we find it invariably includes one or more negative propositions, and hence to speak of disjunction as the basis or presupposition of negation cannot be defended. Nor are they necessarily eliminative, for that would involve an infinite series of disjunctions and negations, and would in fact be no explanation of negation at all, since it would merely push back the enquiry indefinitely.

Resuming the discussion whether disjunctive characters belong to the particular or the universal, we may say that the disjunctive character cannot characterise the universal as such. As has been pointed out, colour or colouredness cannot be red, and cannot be green: it cannot be identical *with* redness or greenness because it is identical *in* them. Similarly, triangularity cannot be scalene or isosceles, it is a particular triangle that is the one or the other. A particular can, it therefore seems, possess disjunctive characters, because to predicate one of a set of alternatives of a subject is not to ascribe indeterminateness to its character, but to determine it as being member of a certain class. At the same time however it must be admitted that notwithstanding the objective validity of generic characters, they do not, for us, characterise the particular directly, and do not therefore contribute to the individuality of the particular before us. Since the urge of knowledge is to continually differentiate and individuate its objects, the generic characters become uninteresting as soon as we have discovered specific characters, and the specific characters in turn lose interest when we have succeeded in fixing its individuality and finally developed it from an individuality to an individual. Of this we can find an example from our everyday experience in that we never think of a friend as belonging to a particular nation or country, but always as the individual that he is. But to admit this is not to deny the objective validity of generic characters, and no increase in our knowledge of a wealth of specific details can falsify our knowledge of the generic characters of any particular. No increase of knowledge can make previous knowledge false and generic characters can and do belong to particulars. The denial of this is due to a prevailing habit of thought by which the particular and the universal are sharply separated, forgetful of the fact that the universal exists only in its particulars just as the particulars exist only as the particulars of a universal.

It seems equally a mistake to regard negation as more abstract or reflective as expressing *'characters of characters of things,'* and not directly *characters of things.* It is said that when a predicate is denied of a subject, that predicate must always be thought of as one of a set of alternatives of which another, whether specified or not, is thought of as the predicate : that when we deny green of a subject, it is because we imply the presence of some colour other than green, and thus the real subject of the judgment is not the ostensible subject, but some, perhaps unidentified, quality of the ostensible subject, in this case colour. Even if this analysis of negation were true, and we will soon see that it is not, it would tell us nothing about the character of negation, because a like analysis would prove that in an affirmative judgment the real subject is a similar unspecified quality of the ostensible subject. To say that 'A is not green' means that 'the colour of A is not green' is no more and no less true than to interpret 'A is green' as 'the colour of A is green,' and in any case affirmation and negation stand or fall together. The real distinction seems to be between generic and attribute universals, and not between negation and affirmation as suggested by the view discussed above. The success of the analysis with a judgment like ' This hat is not green ' and its failure when applied to one like ' This colour is not green ' seem to confirm the truth of our contention. The plausibility of the explanation is gained from the fact that generic characters do not suffice in individuating an object but only describe it as member of a class, and since this view regards negation as merely eliminative within a scheme of disjunction, it regards negative judgments, as ascribing disjunctive characters to the subject, to be more abstract than affirmation which on this view is independent of a prior disjunction.

The tendency to regard negation as more abstract or emerging at a higher level is probably due to the fact that the inferential character is often more easily discernible in a negative than in an affirmative judgment. Since however any judgment is inferential to a degree, this distinction, even if valid, would be one only of degree, and I do not think the distinction is valid as between negation and affirmation. There is no point at which facts can be infallibly perceived as rooted in experience, and hence any theory which regards affirmation as 'coalescence of perception and conception' is in principle false. The judgment emerges only when the immediacy of feeling has been transcended and this is true of affirmation and negation alike. No doubt there are different levels of judgment, but even at the limit where the judgment has barely transformed, felt immediacy, affirmation and negation are equally to be found, and they occur co-ordinately throughout all the levels of judgment.

All judgment is essentially selective and in this we find the combination of negative and positive elements which all judgments exhibit. There is no doubt a positive basis of negation but there is equally a negative basis to all affirmation, and it is this synthesis of these two characters that makes any judgment significant. At the two extremes we have tautologies and infinite judgments where the difference or the identity is at a minimum, for we must insist that so far as a judgment is at all made, the two elements are present even there. Even a seeming tautology if it is made as judgment and not merely a combination of meaningless sounds, intends to convey some distinction between subject and predicate, and this fact of difference is the negative element in the judgment, since it can be expressed only by a negation. A real tautology like 'A is A' is no statement at all, and equally, an infinite judgment like 'A is not B,' where only the fact of otherness or difference is emphasised, possesses significance only so far as some positive character of the subject is suggested. We may agree that not-B is no true universal and cannot be specified in any particular, and hence to qualify any subject by not-B, if that were merely expressive of otherness from B, is to leave it indeterminate and so far not qualified at all. It is only because in language not-B takes no meaning and character with reference to B that expressions of the form 'A is not-B' can be treated as judgments at all.

To say that there is no such thing as *mere* difference is not however to deny the fact of difference, just as to deny that there are mere negative facts is not equal to denying negative facts altogether. Difference is too stubborn a fact to be refined away and can be expressed only by a negation, but we must at the same time admit that the negative judgment often rests by expressing the difference of the subject from the predicate within the judgment, and though, this may, no doubt, in the ideal case where the character of the whole within which the judgment is true, has been defined up to the limit of dichotomous division, express the nature of the subject, this is generally not so, and for the very simple reason that neither the whole nor its characteristics are completely known to us at any actual point of time. Negation therefore distinguishes elements in the presupposed whole from the whole itself and from one another by stressing their aspect of otherness or difference, but since this incompatibility of elements is due, not to our subjective conditions, but to the nature of the whole, we cannot deny that negation does directly determine reality.

The attempt to confine negation within the category of subject-attribute also fails, because even if it were true, as is contended, that the denial of a relation is no relation, it is equally true, in the same sense, that the denial of a quality is not itself a quality. To treat difference of quality as itself a quality is possible only if we treat the relation between two qualities as a quality, but one who is prepared thus to identify in effect relation and quality should not hesitate to regard absence of relation as itself a relation, and in a sense this is no doubt true. We accept the first but shudder at the second because our habits of thought always force us to seek the subject-attribute relation. The absence of quality leaves us uncomfortable till we can in some way smuggle back the idea of substance qualified by attributes. Even in the case of relations, we seek to find some quality in the subject in virtue of which the relation holds, nor does the denial of relation trouble us if we can postulate some quality in the subject that makes the relation incompatible. This is however to overlook the fact that relations and qualities are further irreducible to one another and absence or presence of the one is not identical with the presence or absence of the other. Absence of relation can be no more reduced to an ultimate incompatible attribute than a present relation be explained in terms of the qualities between which it holds.

We have criticised by implication the view which says that when we deny something, we really assert something else, some unknown quality in the real, which is incompatible with what we deny. Apart from the criticism that it is based on an undue extension of the category of subject-attribute beyond its legitimate field of employment we may dismiss this view with the mere comment that it says nothing at all. For what is incompatibility but difference and to explain negation by incompatibility is to explain it in terms of itself. Also, this explanation overlooks the obvious distinction between ground and consequent,—a point we have already laboured.

The question of the triviality of negation is irrelevant, and as we have already suggested before, all judgment being selective connection of content must depend to that extent upon the interest of the judging subject. All our cognata as our cognata are related, and the denial of relation between them means no more than that the terms fail to exhibit the particular type of inter-relation which at the moment we are interested to establish. This is a question of subjective interest and has nothing to do with the character of affirmation or negation, for we may just as well emphasise a trivial and superficial difference as we may such similarity, and in any case the difference would be, not between affirmation and negation, but between judgments at different levels of significance and development. Difference *quâ* difference is the basis of abstract negation and is merely an empty concept, for *differents* are not embodiments of mere abstract negation, but to say this is not to say that negation emerges on the recognition of the positive characters of the differents in affirmations about them. No doubt we may make a number of negations without giving any further information about the subject, but the same is true of affirmation and depends, as we have suggested, not on some difference between affirmation and negation, but on the point of view or subjective interest we may bring to bear upon the subject. Denial of the generic universal entitles us to denial of the specific universal as well with regard to the subject of our judgment, but this does not add to our knowledge because the nature of the particular is exhausted by that of the universal of which it is an instance. Within colour the difference of red and blue is significant, but to deny red or blue of a thing of which we have already denied colour is just as superfluous as it is to predicate generic characters of a subject which we have already known in its concrete individuality. In denying the universal we have *pari passu* denied all its specifications and individuations, just as in attributing specific characters we have necessarily attributed the generic characters as well. Hence to say that 'The soul is not a frying pan' is true but useless, but no more useless than to say that 'An Englishman is something.' This line of thought with regard to the character of negation seems to me to be due to the superstition that only specific characters are given to us directly in immediate presentation from which we come to know of generic characters only inferentially,—a superstition due to the illegitimate separation of universals and particulars against which we have already protested. The universal is given only in the particulars which are its instances just as particulars are given only as particulars of that universal, and it is useless to say that the nature of the particular is not exhausted by that of the universal because it has existence which the universal has not. For this is to perpetuate the very mistake we have been discusssing: to regard the universal as some entity independent of the particulars in which it is. The truth is that neither universals nor particulars in their abstraction have existence: they are not even conceivable as existing in separation from one another and hence whenever we have any actual entity, it exists both as particular and universal, *i.e.*, as a particularised instance of a universal. In other words, there are no mere particulars nor mere universals; all existents are individual in their distinguishable but inseparable and unseparated particularity and universality.

Most of the fallacies with regard to negation are due to that mistaken theory which regards judgment as the reference of an ideal content to a reality beyond the act, and it is strange that even critics of that theory have so often in their treatment of negation succumbed to its charms. For once we accept that theory, we cannot help regarding negation as more abstract, since it involves the qualification of the Real by the predicate in thought, and the rejection by the real Reality of this ideal content so qualified. But judgment is *not* the reference to reality of an ideal content: a truer description would be that, in the reality, we recognise or become aware of distinctions and differences within the identity of the whole which is present in awareness, and thus from the very beginning, affirmation and negation are involved in one another. After Kant's analysis of the interdependence of the knowing self and the object known, it seems futile to deny that affirmation and denial arise at the same time in the same act of thought, for consciousness starts from the distinction of the self and the not-self, and this distinction or otherness is the germinal base of negation. All judgment, as we have seen, is selective, and hence even the affirmative judgment must contain a negative element within itself, not merely in the exclusion of those elements of the whole which are not expressed in the judgment, but also in the distinction between the subject and the predicate within the judgment, because if the subject and the predicate were merely identical, it would be a meaningless tautology and therefore no judgment.

The fact of difference is a stubborn fact and nothing but negation can express it : hence the negative judgment is no less objective than the affirmative. No doubt at the level of developed thought, negation has both positive and disjunctive elements, but it is equally true that negative elements are present in both affirmation and disjunction. It cannot therefore be said that any one of these is logically prior to the others, for they are all involved in one another and must necessarily be so, for these different forms of statement are but different aspects of the same act of judgment by which the mind becomes conscious both of itself and its object and their co-presence in the world of its experience. In other words, judgment is the concrete act by which we are aware of implications within a system, and this involves affirmative, negative and disjunctive elements necessarily and equally, though for purposes of our interest we may emphasise any one of these moments and express it in our proposition which as expressed is but the mutilated judgment. So expressed, the differential of negation is that it is the expression of otherness or difference, which though not merely a negative relation, can be expressed only by means of it. Since differentiation can be no more reduced to identity than identity to difference without the annihilation of knowledge or even its possibility, negation has been, is and will remain as real and as independent as affirmation.

HUMAYUN J. A. KABIR

POEMS

1

My Enemy I:

I

I know I am my greatest foe,
  From others what harm can come to me?
They can but rob me of my wealth,
  My life, my fame or liberty.
Myself a drop of love of love
  By hate of hate of Brother man,
The harm I do to joyless me
  No mind can weigh nor count nor scan.
My pride of life exiles from me
  My loving hope beyond all time,
My lust of world but deafens heart
  'Gainst Joy-abounding love's life chime.
My silent hate of brother man
  Can do him not the slighest harm,
It burns my heart, it smothers love
  And yet I love its loathsome charm.
O kill me as I know myself
And make me live in Love alone,
O, wake me from this dream-torment
And rest in Thee O Love Thine own :

II

O, I shall give Thee naked mind
Love, give Thy self to me,
That I enjoy Thee, sweetest one
Above all that there be,
O how can Thou paintest horror dear
By smile inspirest life in Dead,
If I and thou are not one, dear,
The sun is left for shade.

III

I know Thou mine as I am Thine
The human one to one divine,
A word of mine that thee-ward sent
Like up-thrown spittle on me is spent.

2

Alms of Love.

I am a beggar at Thy door
O, send me not away,
Bestow on me the alms of love
And kick me night and day.
Thy kick is sweeter ever far
Than kiss of self-lived care,
And fast with love is danger far
Than feast of worlds rich fare,
And death in love freer far
Than life's fixt prideful stare,
Life and death may quench in love
But I am ever there.
In thought I live, I fear to die
'Tis thoughts that change but I am I,
In slumber deep all thought is lost
And when awake I feel thought-tossed,
In thought I live, in thought I die
But thought unthought I am but I.

3

AH! WHAT AM I ?

I

I glorify in admiration
Of myself when awake;
My will when hurt is dire complaint
Against attack I make.
Why others might in aught rejoice
That I long for in vain,
Why I should lose what I have clinched
In self tormenting pain?
Ah! why shall I lose game-some youth
And flounder in decay?
Why not for ev'r this beauteous frame
What takes life's joys away?
Ah! am I their's and they not mine,
Is life's unending drone and whine?

II

Ah! what am I on lap of sleep,
When I to me forgot,
I fly to sky, I dive in sea
I live in joy unthought ?
The burden of this body's over
The mind is joy not care,
In sudden fall I open eyes
And lie on bed in glare.
Now I think of care-clothed day
On priceless love of dream, dreamed joy ?

III

I be in pain above, below
    And pain is flesh, pain mind
And is hope that was before
    And pain is all behind.
The smell now comes from hand of help
    And I with pain am done
Nor I, nor painnor life nor death
    None knows if all or one.
Returns that I, again will thrust
To drink of joy and grief accurst ;
The joy bring grief, the grief mock joy
Of mad, mad life I the toy ;
I wish, I wish I cannot tie
O, tell me, tell me what am I.

IV

The voice of silence beats on heart—
" Now, look within, see what thou art ;
If grief and joy thou art the test
They come, they go but thou there rest ;
Grief and joy are pictures thine
Some dark, some harsh, some sweet, some shine.
They all may live and all may die
There joy and life, then " I and I."

4

Secret Love.

My heart by law is wed to life
  Of fleshly lust and prideful life.
Her secret love is but for One
  Whose name is nameless, dumb joy-cry.
Her sweetest love if any name
  She's maze of love-dipt joy-lit shame.
She works so hard for lawful spouse
  There's none a fault with her to find,
She sweeps the floor, she cooks the meals
  She works and works all tears to hide.
When toilsome day in night finds rest
  She lies down by her husband's side,
To kiss in love the One unseen
  Of whom she is the lawless bride.
In dream called soul her work all done
Law, love, work, joy—all, all in one
That One is Sentience, Being, Joy
No time can sweeten That nor cloy ;
That One is neither gem nor toy
For ev'r and ev'r peace and joy ;
All death is life all life is death
All wisdom's fool, words die in faith ;
And peace profound in nights and days
And silence is the highest praise.

Mohini Mohan Chatterji

FRANCIS THOMPSON

Contemporary life in England has profoundly influenced the outlook of modern English poets. The sensitive nature of these imaginative persons cannot ignore the different aspects of life with which they come into intimate contact. Their poetry seldom seeks to soar far above the earth, the scene of our mortal joys and sorrows. If they were idealists their idealism gathers its sustenance from actual experience ; if they are mystics their ecstasies are, more or less, due to a reaction against the materialism of the common man and the positive cocksure attitude of the common scientist. In the background of their visions lies a criticism, conscious or unconscious, of the life that surges around them. With the modern poet, as with the modern man, life is too earnest to be brushed aside, too real to be regarded with absolute indifference.

The poet and his age.

Many of them had, indeed, to drink the bitter draught of life to its very lees. Theirs was an existence of strenuous struggles against adverse circumstances a life which not only made them think out its problems anew, but also left an indelible impression upon the future development of their soul. Such a life was Francis Thompson's. Sorrow was his companion from his early days, misery was his preceptor in youth. He knew life in its most desolate aspects—nobody knew it more. Alone, in the streets of London, without any encouragement of example and emulation, this brave youth struggled on, upheld by the strength of his convictions, illuminated by visions of glory. He witnessed the ''vile, terrible and disconcerting spectacle of degraded poverty'' and lived in an environment 'where flowers are sold and women; where men wither and the stars.' He sought to unveil the hidden significance of human misery, to diagnose from a hundred occult signs the disease which perturbs their populous pulses.'' Misery called out to him from the kerb-stone, despair passed him by on his ways. ''This life which is not a life, to which food is as the fuel of hunger, sleep, our common sleep, precious, costly and fallible as water in a wilderness; in which men rob and women vend themselves''[1]—this life had for him a significance which it had for few else.

It was only natural that the experience which the poet had gathered from his intimate association, in his days of poverty, with the darkest side of his environment should instil into his mind a bitter hatred of the world around him. The huge wastage of human materials which modern society entails, the injustice and inequality which characterise its economic life, the false glitter of culture and the effeminate manners of its upper classes—had their lessons to teach. He had trod "as on thorns amidst the sordidness and ugliness, the sordid ugliness and the ugly sordidness, the dull materiality and the weariness of this old age of the world;''[2] and consequently he was bitter in his resentment against the materialistic outlook of the modern age. Materialism is, according to him, a canker which is eating into the very vitals of human society. It makes of man a grovelling creature more intent on "the beaten gold'' than "aught else in beatific vision found.'' The worship of wealth and power, its mad pursuit of economic supremacy blears the vision of men and stunts the growth of their spirit. And, time and again, did this poet of mystic vision, warn his countrymen against the dangers of insensate commercialism. After the terrible suspense of the Boer War when England was enjoying a welcome respite from her long-drawn agonies, the voice of Thompson was heard reminding his motherland of the significance of such a victory. It was a baptism of fire through which she had been passing during her days of travail and distress, yet such a purifying experience was absolutely necessary for the regeneration of her soul. It cured her of her lethargy—"this long endeavour of the land;" and fondly the poet hoped that these cleansing flames of war might

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[1] In Darkest England, Thompson.

Thompson's Work, Vol. III, p. 39.

........................Thus purge away
The inveterate stains of too long ease,
And yield us back our empire's clay
Into one shoreless state
Compact and hardened for its uses.[1]

But if England did not learn the lessons of her bitter experience, if after this awakening, she went to sleep again hugging to herself her "false Delilah gold," she was doomed to spiritual death

........................If thou
England, incapable of proferred fate
See in such deaths as these
But purchased pledges of unhindered mart,
....
For some spaces longer now
Thou mayest add gain to gain, and take thine ease;—
God has made hard thy heart;
Thou hast but bought thee respite but not surceasey.[2]

He had, indeed, with the almost uncanny vision of a seer, clearly discerned the hidden springs of action in the Boer War. Piercing through the outward veil of patriotic enthusiasm, he could, with an accuracy born of intuitive knowledge, lay his finger on the festering wound. This bitter struggle for economic supremacy was brought home to him with startling vividness, and with a prophet's vision the poet could warn his countrymen that they had brought no lasting peace, only a partial respite if they still cherished, in their heart of hearts, an all-consuming passion for overlordship in the world of trade.

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[1] Peace, Thompson's Works, Vol. II, p. 155.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 151.

In fact, the whole basis of this materialistic civilisation is, according to Thompson, absolutely vicious. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest, with its complement the struggle for existence, has brutalised man. It has hardened his heart and made him callous to suffering. The distressed and the outcast are no longer objects of compassion; they are mere castaways of the life-force as it surges onward to perfection. They deserve to be what they are and should be ruthlessly put down in favour of the supermen. Such are the pernicious effects of Darwinism or such they appear to be to the idealistic thinkers of the modern age. The policy of *laissez-faire* again does not leave things alone; it is assuredly not a policy of non-interference; on the contrary, it perpetuates the *status quo*—the *status quo* of injustice and inequity. Modern man, Thompson is careful to point out, has this, and this alone in common with heaven—he helps only those who are perfectly able to help themselves. Out of this ideal, practised, consciously or unconsciously, by the entire world of culture and civilisation has developed the doctrine of individualism. Individual effort, they say, is at the root of all progress in human society. Ambition urges man to strenuous endeavour; it makes him strike out new paths of progress; it brings out the powers that lie dormant in his personality. It is a precept of self-help which, Thompson admits, is true indeed; but true only "within rigid limitations and safeguards."[1] In practice, however, it has become the "script of selfishness." It has come to mean the "devil take the hindmost." Against such a selfish outlook on life, the poet protests with all the emphasis he can command. "Diabolical this doctrine of individualism is; for it is the outcome of the proud teaching which declares it despicable for men to bow before their fellowmen. It has meant, not that a man should be individual but that he should be independent. A man *should* be individual, but not independent. The very laws of nature forbid independence, which have made man, in a thousand ways, inevitably dependent on his fellows." [1]

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[1] In Darkest England Works, Vol. III, p. 62.

Nor is he blind to the paradox of modern civilisation—a civilisation which waxes eloquent on struggles for existence, yet enervates the physical powers of man. In his discourse on "*Health and Holiness*," the poet wistfully looks back to the heroic age of the Renaissance when men "flew in the face of the east wind." The robust system of a robust time when men were *real* men with redounding vitality had a strange fascination for his poetic mind especially when it was contrasted with the "too untimely spent and forewearied" powers of the modern man. "The pride of life is no more; to live itself is an ascetic exercise; we require spurs to being, not a snaffle to rein back the ardour of being. Man is his own mortification. Hamlet has increased and multiplied and his seed fill the land." [2]

Naturally Thompson revolts against his age. He will not bend his knees before the gods whom his contemporaries worship. His might be a voice crying in the wilderness yet he has the courage to raise a solitary note of protest against the soul-killing tendencies of modern civilisation. With a superb gesture of defiance does he denounce the shibboleths of modern society. "To the idols of the Gentiles," he passionately exclaims,

> "...........to the idols of the Gentiles I
> Will never make me an hierophant:—
> Their false-fair gods of gold and ivory,
> Which have a mouth, nor any speech thereby,
> Save such as soundeth from the throat of Hell
> The aboriginal lie;
> And eyes, nor any seeing in the light,—
> Gods of the obscene night,
> To whom the darkness is for diadem." [3]

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[1] In Darkest England, Works, Vol. III, p. 63.

[2] Health and Holiness, Works, Vol. III, p. 254.

[3] *Ad Castitatum*, Works, II, p. 62.

Isolated from the currents of thought and action prevalent in his own age, Thompson finds in contemporary life, little with which he can sympathise. He lives "detached days," "deaf to the world's tongue." He never seeks popularity. He scorns the "loud shout of the crowd" knowing full well what all this popular fame is worth. He has no part in "time's braggart way, and its loud bruit" and finds little joy in the much-vaunted illumination of modern thought.[1] He can scarcely speak the speech of his fellow-men or love their love—a veritable

> Sunflower's spirit which by luckless chance
> Has mournfully its tenement mistook.[2]

The poet and the scientific spirit.

Yet Thompson had an intimate knowledge of the development of scientific thought which is, in modern times, conjuring up new visions of undiscovered regions before the eyes of men. Like many other scientific thinkers of his age he can discover the progress of creative evolution in the domain of nature. The vast panorama of ordered progress which science has revealed to the imagination of man influences him strangely and in his magnificent *Anthem of Earth* he gives us a poetic vision of this eternal process of evolution in nature. He looks at the "red sun" dropping slowly behind the hills and all at once his imagination wafts him back to the dim ages of the past, to the days of the primaeval forests. And with bated breath and an awe-struck countenance, the poet enquires

> Who lit the furnace of the mammoth's heart ?
> Who shagged him like Pilaters' ribbèd flanks ?
> Who raised the column'd ranks
> Of that old pre-deluvian forestry,
> Which like a continent torn oppressed the sea
> When the ancient heavens did in rains depart
> While the high-danced whirls
> Of the tossed scud made hist thy drenchèd curls? "

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[1] *Cf.* The Night of Forebeing, Works, Vol. II, p. 43.
[2] Sister Songs, Part II, Works, Vol. I, p. 40.

His poetic eye seems to create anew the mighty cataclysms of the geologic ages, those tremendous upheavals which submerged whole worlds and engulfed entire continents. "The mountainous wrack of a creation hurled" and "the dead bones of a perished world"—all seem to revive in his magnificent poem. He hears the distant rumble of the "thunders volcanic" and witnesses the titanic forces "rock like a cradle the girth of the ether-hung world."[1] He looks at man and man is transformed. He is no longer a mere ripple in the ocean of Eternity. He is the inheritor of the past. His undying thoughts, his very physical frame are all derived from an earlier world. The human body, Thompson never forgets, is

> Subject to ancient and ancestral shadows
> Descended passions sway it, it is distraught
> With ghostly usurpations, dinned and fretted
> With the still-tyrannous dead; a haunted tenement
> Peopled from borrowed and out-worn ossuaries.[2]

It is only natural that a poet so inspired by the glorious visions revealed by the scientific investigations of his age should appreciate the patient endeavours of these seekers after truth. Scientists, in his opinion, can never be ignored; they are a band of earnest workers

> ....who pushed back the ocean of the unknown,
> And fenced some strand of knowledge for our own
> Against the out-going sea
> Off ebbing mystery.[3]

Thompson has, indeed, nothing but unstinted praise for the progress of scientific thought in his age. It is science which changes "the old face of the wonted earth." Her patient investigations alone can bring out, from their hidden depths, the secrets of nature's mysteries. She alone can show to the astonished gaze of man

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[1] Ode to the Setting Sun, Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

[2] Anthem of Earth, Works, Vol. II, p. 115.

[3] The Victorian Ode, Vol. II, p. 140.

> The secret ladder where-through all things climb
> Upward from the primeval slime ;[1]

or,

> The multitudinous diminutive
> Recessed in virtual right
> Below the surface-sea of sight.[1]

She breaks "the dusty toils of Death, tracks him to his obscurest fastnesses and foils his fell designs" thus rendering immense services to the cause of humanity. Nay more, her achievements change our entire outlook on life. The discovery of "life in putridity" and "vigour in decay" gives to our perishable elements their proper imperishability. It makes even fools recognise the hand of Providence in the universe. Thus,

> Dissolution even and disintegration
> Which in our dull thoughts symbolise disorder
> Finds in god's thought irrefragable order
> And admirable the manner of our corruption
> As of our health.

Science should not, however, presume too much. She must not brag "All's bare" and "There's naught beyond." Can man know himself that he should seek to fathom the mysterious workings of Divine Providence? In his own personality man finds many a mystery which he cannot solve. Underneath the threshold of his conscious life there are innumerable regions which man knows not, where he gropes blindly. Who can, asks the poet triumphantly, "draw a full chart

> Of the strange courts and vaulty labyrinths
> The spacious tenements and wide pleasances
> Innumerable corridors far withdrawn
> Where he wanders darkling?"

[1] The Nineteenth Century, Works, Vol. II, pp. 148-50.

Who can explore those dim caverns of his mind where memory "makes its burrows"? If man, then, cannot fully explore the depths of his personality with which he comes into contact almost daily in his life, is it not sheer presumption on his part to "clap his foot-rule to the walls of the world" and say "A goodly house but something ancient and I find no master"? Is not the attempt of man to explain the universe by reference to material forces alone, foolhardiness, pure and simple? It is against this presumption of the human understanding that the poet raises his voice of protest. His is the attitude of an humble seeker after truth who knows full well the limitations of his own powers. Before the inscrutable mysteries of Providence his human intellect stands baffled. In the depths of the universe there are principles which human reason, so the poet feels, cannot fully explain or discover. But this very failure of the human intellect gives man a far truer knowledge of the ultimate reality than the over-confident assertions of science;

> By baffled seeing, something I divine
> Which baffles, and a seeing set beyond
> And so with strenuous gazes sounding down
> Like to the daylong porer on a stream
> Whose last look is his deepest, I beside
> This slow perpetual time stand patiently
>   In a little light.

Thompson's standpoint is the standpoint of one of the foremost poets of the Victorian Age. Like Tennyson he was conscious of the inadequacy of the human reason to solve the ultimate problems of life. Our little systems have, indeed, their day and then they perish. And we, poor mortals, are veritable

> Children crying in the night, yea—
> Children crying for the light
> With nothing stronger than a cry.

The poet and the Roman Catholic faith.

The greatest influence on Thompson's mind was the doctrines and observances of the Roman Catholic Church. Very early in life when he was residing in the Unshaw College, the solemn and picturesque ritual of the Roman Catholic Church greatly impressed his poetic imagination. Moreover, from his very childhood, it had been arranged that he should enter the church and his first few years at college had given entire satisfaction to his preceptors ; although later in life his ghostly advisers found him unfit for the sacred calling, yet his early training itself instilled into his mind and established there, for all time to come, ideas and principles more in consonance with the Roman Catholic faith than with the all-pervading atmosphere of contemporary thought. His ideals are Roman Catholic, his sympathies are always with the tenets of its faith. Time and again, Thompson had to defend its ideals and practices against the attacks of modern thinkers. His defence of *Form and Formalism*, of the efficacy of prayer and his warm eulogy of contemplative mysticism are all significant of the trend of his thoughts. The poet analysed the "decided tendency of what are called 'popular leaders' towards federation with the minimum of Government and no religion" and concluded that "when it comes, it can only be federation in both Government and religion of plenary and ordered dominance." "Only two religions are constant enough to effect this : each based upon the past—which is stability; each growing according to some interior law—which is strength. Paganism and Christianism ; the religion of the Queen of Heaven who is Astarte and the religion of the Queen of Heaven who is Mary."[1] The cry of distress in darkest England reaches his heart; he looks at the Salvation Army and is at once reminded of the Franciscan Tertiaries. General Booth, the poet suspects, "has but studied St. Francis."[1] He appeals to *his* Church and its monastic orders to come to the rescue of these moral derelicts.

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[1] Form and Formalism, Works, Vol. III, p. 76.

"One army is in the midst of us, enrolled under the banner of the stigmata, quartered throughout the kingdom ; " a monastic order the spiritual ideals of which are superior to all else. The Salvationists may be strong yet the Franciscans are stronger still. "What sword have they but you have a keener ? For blood and fire, a gentle humility; for the joy of religious alcoholism, the joy of that peace which passeth understanding, for the tumults, the depths of the spirit ; for the discipline of the trumpets, the discipline of the sacraments." [1]

Thompson's mysticism takes its colouring from the same faith. Its symbolism and the very nature of its experiences, are the outcome of his religious convictions. The mystic visions of man cannot be directly portrayed. So long as he communes with Eternity he lives in a world apart. Yet there is, always, in his heart of hearts, a yearning to break forth into songs of praise, a desire to express the inexpressible. He cannot, indeed, give an exact representation of what he feels but must shadow forth the vague and elusive experiences of his mystic life. And so man speaks in symbols which " always suggest but never fill the truth." A good symbolism is not mere allegory. It is something more; for it uses, " to the utmost, the resources of beauty and passion, brings with it hints of mystery and wonder, bewitches with dreamy periods the mind to which it is addressed. Its appeal is not to the clever brain but to the desirous heart and the intuitive sense of man." [2] In fact this imagery is so far removed from mere fancy that the deepest truths, as Thompson points out, even in the natural or physical order, are often "adumbrated only by images familiar yet conceived to be purely fanciful analogies." [3] It is through images and visions that the subconscious experiences of our self are communicated to our consciousness. The mysterious contact between " the visionary and a transcendental truth and beauty " often visualises itself before the surface-mind of man. The vision is, consequently, " the paint and canvass picture " which " tries to show the surface-consciousness that ineffable sight, that ecstatic perception of good or evil to which the deeper, the more real soul has attained."[1] The visionary experiences of mystics, however, differ according to the peculiar nature of their beliefs and traditions. The atmosphere of thoughts and ideas in the midst of which they live, the symbols which they treasure up in their memory—all determine the nature of their visions. Profound meditation takes a visual form; symbols are objectivised. They are what their imagination longs for. It is very significant that Thompson's mystic visions are, almost all of them, closely associated with the principles of the Roman Catholic faith. In moments of ecstatic vision—

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[1] In Darkest England, Works, Vol, III, p. 60.

[2] Mysticism, Underhill, p. 126.

[3] *Cf.* Life of Francis Thompson, E. Meynell, p. 162.

> The woman I behold, whose vision seek
> All eyes and know not; t'ward whom climb
> The steps o' the world and beats all wings of rhyme
> And knows not; 'twixt the sun and moon
> Her inexpressible front unstarred
> Tempers the wrangling spheres to tune;
> Their divergent harmonies
> Concluded in the concord of her eyes
> And vestal dances of her glad regard." [2]

She is Virgin Mary who leads men to their salvation. She identifies herself with the sinning soul of man and brings redemption unto him. Her influence works in the universe and is manifest in God's creation.

> She in us and we in her are
> Beating Godward; all that pine—
> Lo ! a wander and a terror—
> The sun hath blushed the sea to wine.

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[1] Mysticism, Underhill, p. 271.

[2] Nights of Forebeing, Thompson, Works, Vol. II, p. 43.

He, the Anteros and Eros
She, the bride and spirit; for
Now the day of promise near us
And the sea shall be no more.[1]

It is in *her* that man is " saturate with God." Through *her* alone is revealed the manifest presence of transcending truth and beauty.

Like Cynewulf, this poet, living though he did in the modern age of positive knowledge, could draw inspiration from the *Vision of the Rood.* In fact, the Cross was, to his imagination, a symbol expressive of the deepest truths of spiritual experience. The glorious spectacle of the setting sun " empurpling " the west as it sinks down beneath the horizon brings up before his mind's eye the vision of the Christ. The sun itself is an image of Divinity.

Thou dost image, thou dost follow
 That King-maker of Creation,
Who ere Hellas hailed Apollo
 Gave thee, Angel-god thy station
Thou art of Him, a type memorial.

For,

Like him thou hangest in dreadful pomp of blood
 Upon thy Western *rood;*
And his stained brow, did vail like thine to-night
 Yet lift once more Its light
And risen, again departed from our ball,
 But when It set on earth arose in heaven
 Thus hath He unto death His beauty given.[2]

And so this hymn to the Setting Sun becomes a hymn to the Cross. The Cross, hence-forward, inspires him with the deepest spiritual experiences of his life. It stands " gaunt and long " between the poet and the universe of his being; yielding alike the brightness of joy and the shadow of misery. It often symbolises the sufferings which man must endure before he enjoys perfect bliss. In his mystic ecstasy Thompson feels—

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[1] Assuampta Maria, Thompson, Works, Vol. II, p. 55.
[2] Ode to the Setting Sun, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 126.

> Of reaped joys thou art the heavy sheaf
> Which must be lifted though the reaper groan;
> Yet we may cry till heaven's great ear be deaf
> But we must bear thee, and bear alone:
> Yet woe to him that from his burden flees
> Crushed in the fall of what he casts away.[1]

The very contemplation of this great symbol takes him away from the World of Becoming. He becomes rapt in the Divine. And in this mood,

> ......While soul, sky and music bleed
> Let me give thanks even for those griefs in me,
> The restless windward stirrings of whose feather
> Prove them the brood of immortality.
> My soul is quitted of death-neighbouring swoon
> Who shall not slake her immitigable scars,
> Until she hear, ' My sister ' from the moon
> And take the kindred kisses from the stars.[2]

Well might Coventry Patmore say, " He is of all men I have known most naturally a Catholic. My Catholicism was acquired, his inherent."

Poetry—an inspi-
ation.

To a man, so gifted and so nurtured, poetry is the outcome of inspiration, pure and simple. The poet, like any other creator of beauty, must live a life of solitary meditation. " Both saint and poet must undergo a preparation for their work ; and in both, a notable feature of this preparation is a period of preliminary retire-
ment. Even the poets, most in and of the world, experience it
n some form ; though in their case it may be an inward process only leaving no trace on their outward life."[3] During this

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[1] *Ibid*, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 127.

[2] *Ibid*, After-strain, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 128.

[3] Health and Holiness, Thompson.

period of retirement, the poet has to pass through the throes of creation. He has to realise himself and discover the laws of aesthetic expression. Nay more, he must identify himself with them; it is after such identification alone, that he becomes a true poet, a *maker* in the real sense of the term. " In poet, as in saint, it is always a process of pain and struggle. For it is nothing else than a gradual conformation to artistic law. He absorbs the law into himself, or rather, he is himself absorbed into the law, moulded to it, until he become sensitively respondent to its faintest motion. Thenceforth he needs no guidance from formal rule, having a more delicate rule within him. He is a law to himself or indeed he is the law." Thus trained and developed the poet's spirit becomes a fit instrument for the expression of divine harmonies. In passive receptivity, the poet opens his soul to the spiritual influences that throng around him. They penetrate into the utmost depths of his being and transmute his entire self. To outward appearance he becomes a solitary, a veritable " desolation,"

> He scarcely frets the atmosphere
> With breathing and his body shares
> The immobility of rocks.
> His heart's a deep-will of tranquillity
> His mind still is than the limbs of fear.[1]

Yet underneath this apparent tranquillity there goes on an intense activity of creation. His whole personality is aflame with poetic enthusiasm; he hears in " prevenient winnowings " the pinions of " coming songs that lift his hair and stir it."[2] He wanders in a realm of vision and ecstasy. He soars to the highest regions of spiritual experience; " gleaming multitudes " float before his mind's eye and sweet melodies enthral him.[3]

This inspiration, like the wind, bloweth where it listeth; it recks of no control. Thoughts crowd into the poet's mind, he knows not whence or why, yet he must express them ; he must blend them together and harmonise them in his melodious verses. Like Plato [1] Thompson also is acutely conscious of the spontaneous nature of poetic inspiration. Like him again, the poet admits that his songs often have a greater significance for his hearers than for himself—

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[1] Contemplation, Thompson.

[2] Contemplation, Thompson.

[3] *Cf.* Sister Songs, Thompson.

> Where he sows he doth not reap;
> He reapeth where he doth not sow;
> He sleeps, and dreams forsake his sleep
> To meet him on his waking way.
> Vision will mate him not by law and vow:
> Disguised in life's most hodden-gray
> She waits him unsuspected and unknown.[2]

The poet's inspiration, so Thompson feels, comes to him from Divinity Itself. God breathes into him the breath of life and an entire world of beauty at once unrolls itself before his imaginative vision. The life of everyday experience is his, not however the visionary hours of poetic ecstasy.

> Thou gav'st the weed and wreath of song * the weed and wreath are solely thine
> And this dishonest vesture * is the only vesture that is mine;
> The life I textured, thou the song *—my handicraft is not Divine! [3]

The poet—his nature.

To receive this inspiration from God the poet must transcend the humdrum everyday experiences of common men. "Life's familiar, penetrable levels" lie on the surface. They are for the common man. The poet must go beyond them; he must penetrate to the very depths of real existence. He must dwell there in an ideal world where truth reveals herself to his loving gaze. In fact, he is—

> ....Beauty's eremite
> In antre of this lowly body set,
> Girt with a thirsty solitude of soul; [4]

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[1] Ion.

[2] Sister Songs.

[3] A Judgment in Heaven.

[4] Sister Songs.

Smitten from his very youth with the enchanting grace of poetry, living a dedicated life unmindful of the praises or blame of society,

> He liveth detachèd days;
> He serveth not for praise;
> For gold
> He is not sold;
> Deaf is he to world's tongue;
> He scorneth for his song
> The loud
> Shouts of the crowd.[1]

He does not care whether this worship of beauty has its reward. He is satisfied with his own efforts for self-expression; his life is not one of common joys and cares." simply felt as all men feel" nor is it "lived purely out to his soul's weal."[5] On the contrary, his personality has, by its very nature, imbedded in its own self, conflicting tendencies of thought and action. He lives a "double life"—the life of flesh and the life of song—and has, accordingly, to suffer the twofold sorrows of his peculiar existence. The pangs that flesh is heir to, oppress him and added to them come the travails of spiritual experience. The inadequacy of his physical powers to express his spiritual aspirations and aesthetic visions overburden his soul. The unfortunate poet, by the very nature of his being,

> Immortal knew and mortal pain,
> Who in two worlds could lose and gain
> And found immortal fruits must be,
> Mortal, through his mortality.
> The life of flesh and the life of song!
> If one life worked the other wrong,
> What expiating agony
> May for him, damned to poesy
> Shut in that little sentence be—
> What deep austerities of strife—
> 'He lived his life.' 'He lived *his* life.'[2]

To the Dead Cardinal of Westminster.

[2] Epilogue, A Judgment of Heaven.

There is indeed a primal sympathy between the poet and the Creator. The poet and the mystic alone, Thompson holds, even as Plato did, can penetrate beyond the veil of appearance and have a vision of reality. "Creation's primal plot" stands revealed before him. His soul is a microcosm in which are revealed the workings of the great world in which he lives; his intellect directs the otherwise chaotic activities of his "still fluctuous sense." He is the great seer who "makes everything new." "Thou art," so Thompson exultantly addresses the poet,

> Bold copyist who dost relimn
> The traits, in man's gross mind grown dim
> Of the first masterpiece—
> Remaking all in thy one day:—
> And what thy maker in the whole
> Worked, little master, in thy soul
> Thou workest, and man knows it not.

The ideal, which Thompson ardently desires to inculcate, of the poet's nature and mission in life is closely akin to that of the mystic. No poet, according to him, can create his world of visionary and mystic Beauty unless he himself has an intuitive knowledge of the spiritual essences underlying the universe. Poetry is a mere unfolding of the spiritual and mystic experiences of man. And the poet himself is satisfied only when his poems catch the after-glow of his visions of God.

> Only that,'mid vain vaunt
> Of wisdom ignorant,
> A little kiss upon the foot of Love
> My hasty verse has stayed
> Sometimes a space to plant
> It has not wholly strayed—

Indeed Thompson has his whole being concentrated on an earnest endeavour to realise, in the depths of his soul, the fountainhead of all light and all love. He sings out of the fullness of his heart and feels an inner satisfaction in thus unburdening himself of the sweetest experiences of his life. He knows full well the uncongenial environment in the midst of which he has to strive. Yet he never loses heart. On the contrary an implicit faith in Divine Providence always upholds him even when he has to struggle hard with the world of modern ideas.

> Yet shall a wiser day
> Fulfil more heavenly way
> And with approved music clear this slip
> I trust in God most sweet.
> Meantime the silent lip
> Meantime the climbing feet.[1]

The religious atmosphere through which the poet had to pass the most formative period of his life and the bitter experiences of his days of travail and distress made him uncommonly introspective. His study of Roman Cathotic Mysticism and his association with Coventry Patmore strengthened the vein of mysticism which lay dormant in his personality. Often does the poet abstract himself from the outward world of sense and concentrate his entire being on the world of the spirit. In such moments of introspection he finds within himself depths wherein he is alone to the Alone—an inmost citadel of the human heart where God alone reigns; the deepest inmost soul of man of which he himself, in his ordinary moods, has no knowledge; the varitable

> ...Heart's heart, whose immurèd plot
> Hath keys yourself keep not.[2]

Even love which can penetrate into and influence the conscious self of man has no entrance into these unconscious regions of the human mind. Here the human personality is brought face to face with its master, the *Oversoul.* It is here, that the human soul feels the presence and approach of God.

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[1] Retrospect.
[2] A Fallen Yew.

Its keys are at the cincture hung of God
Its gates are trepident to his nod;
By Him its floors are trod.
And if his feet shall rock those floors in wrath
Or blest aspersions sleek his path
Is only choice it hath.[1]

In these depths of his personality man feels the existence of spiritual essences and gains his spiritual sustenance from immortal moods and thoughts. His mystic experiences seldom appear on the surface of conscious life; only after intense moments of emotional fervour are they thrown upon its shores—

Fair are the soul's uncrisped calms, indeed,
Endiapered with many a spiritual form
Of bloomy-tinctured weed;
But scarce itself is conscious of the store
Suckled by it, and only after storm
Casts up its loosened thoughts upon the shore.[2]

The soul of the poet always feels an inward urge, a hankering for union with the Oversoul. He is ever 'rapt towards the bodyless paramour.' The beauty of the earth, its radiance and colour, the fragrance of its flowers all tell him of his Divine Lover. They all vouchsafe unto him alluring glimpses of the countenance of his Beloved. Such glimpses influence his life and transform his entire personality. The whole universe cannot charm him; he lives in the world indeed but is not of it.

From the enticing smile of earth and skies
I dream my unknown fair's refused gaze;
And guesingly her love's close traits devise,
Which she with subtile coquetries

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[1] A fallen Yew.
[2] Sister Songs.

Through little human glimpses slow displays
Cozening my mateless days
By sick intolerable delays.[1]

And so he lives an isolated life, uncompanioned by any mortal lover. He cannot feel any mortal passion. No love can move him except such as "winnows the tremulous Paradisical plumages."

The most significant characteristic of Thompson's mysticism is the idea that man does not hanker for God as God for him. In the midst of the darkest moments of his life the poet is always conscious of the pursuit of his Beloved. God is the "heavenly falconer," who tames with fearful glooms the haggard to his call. Overburdened with the weight of Divine love the human soul may try to escape from Him; but His quest is unrelenting. His feet ever follows the human soul wherever she may take shelter.

But with unhurrying chase
And unperturbed pace
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy
They beat............................" [2]

In vain does man try to flee; in vain does he seek protection everywhere. He speeds up "vested hopes" and down "Titanic glooms of charmed fears." He prays to the powers of nature for shelter from this "tremendous Lover," but finds, to his dismay, his "own betrayal in their constancy." They are but servitors of his Divine Beloved, true and loyal to His behests alone. And as he flees past, his ears are smitten by the warning cry "Naught shelters thee who wilt not shelter me." He seeks consolation and rest in the company of innocent children but even there lurks the image of God. Nor can a life spent in intimate communion with nature save him. His scientific investigations into the fundamental principles of nature's life his efforts to "draw the bolt of nature's services," his endeavours to guide his life according to her moods—all prove fruitless. "I" says Thompson,

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[1] Sister Songs.

[2] TheHound of Heaven.

"......made them shapers
Of mine own moods or woeful or divine;
With them joyed and was bereaven.
I was heavy with the even,
When she lit her glimmering tapers
Round the day's dead sanctities.
I laughed in the morning's eyes
I triumphed and I saddened with all weather,
Heaven and I wept together,
And its sweets tears were salt with mortal mind;
Against the red throb of its sunset-heart
I laid my own to beat,
And share commingling heat."[1]

Yet nature cannot "slake the drouth" of his soul and, ever and anon,

A voice comes yet more fleet—
Lo! naught contents thee who content'st not me.[2]

Perfect union with the Oversoul, the life unitive so significant of mystic experience, cannot be attained so long as the barriers of individual existence are not destroyed; and beautifully does the poet describe the entire process of this destruction of his selfhood before the insistent pursuit of his Divine Beloved. His soul loses itself. The armour of individualistic life which had so long separated herself from her Beloved lies in ruins around her. And then, and then alone, does she hear the sweet voice of God consoling her in the midst of utter annihilation. "The life which lies destitute and shattered about the soul," the poet feels, is, in reality, conducive to her welfare. She is rendered desolate and forelorn because such desolation is absolutely necessary for final union with God. It is only when man confronts Divinity completely shorn of all his powers that He calls man to His side. Man's powers are taken away so that he may seek and ultimately find them in God.

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[1], [2] The Hound of Heaven.

All which from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in my arms,
All which thy child's mistake
Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home;
Rise! clasp my Hand, and come! [1]

The Mystic Discipline.

The life of a mystic and poet like Thompson is a life of discipline. He must not lead the life of common men. Their ways are not his. If he has painfully acquired the ideas prevalent in his age he must unlearn them. He must always remember that the outer world of existence is a world of shadows and not of realities and he must develop his personality accordingly. The precepts which he has to follow may often appear paradoxical but they are nevertheless true, true for the progress of the mystic soul. In the midst of the most uncongenial environments he must cling to hope, in the midst of the adversities of life he must exult.

Thou must hope for thou darest not despair,
Exult for thou canst not grieve.[2]

He must, indeed "plough the rock until it bear;" he must die to the world in order to live the eternal life of the spirit.

The mystic path is, according to Thompson, a path of sorrow and pain. The bitter experiences of his life had awakened the poet to the great significance of sorrow. He had felt even in the most unhappy moments of his life the sweetness of sorrow and could, consequently, assert with an emphasis born of conviction that "a world without joy were more tolerable than a world without sorrow." For, "sorrow is the Spartan sauce which gives gusto to the remainder viands of life, the broken meats of love.'' She raises the soul of man to higher planes of existence and gives her ''the gracious gift of sweetness.'' Hers is ''a beauty surpassing all objects in the universe.'' To a Christian whose highest embodiment of perfection is a Man of Sorrows, she has an added glamour. She is not only beautiful but a perennial source of powers as well. '' It was,'' Thompson very significantly observes, '' after the Christ had wept over Jerusalem that He uttered some of His most august words; it was when His soul had been sorrowful even unto death that His enemies fell prostrate before his voice. Who suffers conquers ; the bruised is the breaker.''

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[1] Hound of Heaven.
[2] By Reason of Thy Law.

Sorrow is indeed the '' icy path which strings the slack sinews loosened with delight.'' In the world of the spirit again, she has a very significant part to play. She unlocks the treasured wisdom of spiritual experience. It is with her ''anointing oil'' that the poet and mystic becomes master over the ''mutinous principate of man's restless mind." Under her rigorous eyes alone do the spiritual powers ''exercise their celestial virtue.'' She is the '' portress of the gateway of all love.'' Hers is the ''pentecostal flame'' which consecrates the mother and the wife and illuminates this ''love-way" which we call life. Above all, to a devout Roman Catholic like Thompson, she is the redeemer of mankind. The Pre-destined Man of Grief invested her with her bare and antique sceptre. His Crown of Thorns was a veritable crown of sorrow. To this ''Queen of Calvary," terrible yet holy, the poet is a devoted votary. He has never neglected " her high sacrifice,'' never spared his '' heart's children to her sacred knife.'' He yearns for her and would fain experience the mystic intimations which come to man through the way of suffering and misery. The poet indeed wants to perform " the extreme rite of abnegation'' for he knows full well that man must bear aright this proving of God's ''pure-willed ordeal'' and submit himself absolutely to Providence. Not only does the poet await, with calm assurance in the midst of the sorrows of life, the light of Divine Presence but he exclaims with exulting certitude that at the end of this vale of tears lies the vision Beatific of the Great Oversoul.

Lo, I proclaim the unavoided term
When this morass of tears, then drained and firm
Shall be a land
Unshaken I affirm
Where seven-quired psalterings meet;
And all the gods move with calm hand in hand,
And eyes that knows not trouble and the worm.[1]

In spite, however, of the pain and sorrow of the mystic path the soul of man ever reaches out to God and can never rest satisfied with anything less than union, absolute and complete, with the Oversoul. Man will search no more only when

Earth and heaven lay down their veil,
And that Apocalypse turn the pale;
When thy seeing blindeth thee
To what thy fellow mortals see;
When their sight to thee is sightless;
Their living death; their light, most lightless.

The mystic vision.

The whole universe now appears linked into one great unity. All things are so intimately associated together that we cannot "stir a flower without the troubling of a star." Sometimes these visions are heralded by "dainty dubious sounds" of melody,

Which first was faint as if in swound
Then burst so suddenly
In warring concords all around
That, whence this thing might be
To see
The very marrow longed in me.[2]

The Archetypal music of heavenly essences makes the human soul vibrant with mystic aspirations and soon it seems as if the veil of appearance is lifted from the countenance of the earth. The realities underlying the universe stand revealed to the gaze of man. Symbols of the hours float before his vision. Before his awe-struck gaze the whole world appears as a veritable interplay of symbolical beings.[1]

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[1] By Reason of Thy Law.

[2] Sisfer Songs.

Such visions are often-times too "bright for human sight." Secret and sweet music may come to enthral the heart of the worshipper; yet he feels that all his sweetness and beauty is too infinite to be confined within the finite soul of man. Unassisted the human soul cannot endure all this glory.

But ah! withal
Some hold, some stay,
Oh difficult Joy I pray
Some arm of thine,
Not only, only arms of mine
Lost like a weary girl I fall
From clasping love so high,
And lacking thus thy arms then may
Most hapless I
Turn utterly to love of basest rate.
For low they fall whose fall is from the sky.[2]

It is indeed very difficult for man to soar to the highest regions of spiritual experience; still more difficult to live there. His soul swoons in the atmosphere of extreme mysticism ; its wings grow heavy and, more often than not, it flutters down to earth; and then its fall is all the more shameful as it had aspired so high and witnessed such glories.

But I, of height grown desperate
Surcease my wing, and by lost fate
Be dashed from pure
To broken writhings in the shameful slime:
Lower than man, for I dreamed higher
Thrust down, y how much I aspire,
And dam th drink of immortality.[3]

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[1] Sister Songs.

[2] & [3] Dread of Height.

Mystic Transformation : 1. Nature.

In the light of such intuitive visions nature appears to be carried away by transports of joy. Her elementary children "shake the rafters of the sky" with "festal footing and bold joyance sweet." Like Wordsworth, Thompson would fain participate in their feast of joy, fain would he join the festive throng of his "elemental co-mates." Yet he feels that he has to "sit apart, a somewhat alien guest" watching the mirth of nature in her spring-time. The very remembrance of the past when he could, like them, run with such wilful feet makes him miserable In spite, however, of his isolation from the joyous life of the outside world his mystic temperament can discern "a higher and a solemn" voice through her gay-hearted clamour—a voice which is prophetic of the future destiny of the universe. The song of birds, the fragrance of spring are all, in the light of his mystic vision, symbols of the highest consummation and spiritual life. In ecstatic joy does Thompson cry out,

> Oh Earth, unchilded, widowed Earth, so long
> Living in patient pine and ivy-tree
> Mournful belief and steadfast prophecy,
> Behold how all things are made true!
> Behold your bridegroom cometh in to you
> Exceeding glad and strong.

She no longer remains "sole and dividual." She cannot, now, be governed by the conventions and laws of everyday life. She has, no longer, to painfully decipher the symbolical wisdom writ large everywhere. Rejoice, therefore,

> Rejoice, O barren, and look forth abroad!
> Your children gathered back to your embrace
> See with a mother's face;
> Look up, oh mortals and the portent heed!
> In very deed,

Washed with new fire to their radiant birth,
Re-integrated are the heavens and earth,
From sky to sod.
The world's unfolded blossom smells of God.

This unitive view of the universe strangely influences the mind of the poet and there soon loom up before him dim shapes picturing forth in mystic symbols the gradual evolution of nature. The entire panorama of universal progress passes slowly before his inner eye. Earth "eased of rule" "resolved into dividual liberty, most strengthless, unparticipant and inane;" which erstwhile lay supine before the gaze of all, soon transcends the bondage of her "waste and futile reign" and accepting the newer ideal of well-ordered freedom, God's true-manumitting law, becomes exultant in joy. Love brooding over the surface of waters and working from "change to change" and "birth to birth"; the creation of light, flagrant, manifest, invading with confident steps not only the physical world of existence but the depths of human personality as well, illuminating alike its "sentient closenses of the breast," and "the secret chambers of the brain;" the rejoicings of nature, of the entire creation, all creatures feeling their out-quickening life leap and twinkle within their very selves, and the swift spheres reeling intemperately round and round in bacchanal rout ;—all reveal to this mystic seer an intuitive vision of the world-process as it actually goes on around him.

2. Man.

From the world of nature the poet turns to the world of man and finds the same process working there as well.

Not only of cyclic man
Thou here discern'st the plan
Not only of cyclic Man but of cyclic Me.[1]

The human species and the individual man are alike subject to the same law not only in the past but also in the future. To the mystic imagination of this poet, man appears to be slowly yet surely progressing towards the highest development of his personality, when "crowned love unconsummed shall chant in his own furnace-fire" and the "cyclic unrest" shall be fulfilled with "solemn equipoise." The unrest and discontent of imperfect man as he passes through cycles of development will, on the attainment of perfection, assuredly find perfect calm. There will, then, be no jarring elements in his nature, and his personality will be one wherein all its different aspects are harmoniously blended. The poet, in prophetic vision, seems to see the future in the present.

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[1] From the Night of Forebeing.

> For all the past, read to, is prophecy,
> And all the firsts are hauntings of some last,
> And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring.

Nor is man, as he is at present constituted, an insignificant creature. He is a microcosm—"a universe in a span"—containing in the depths of his being a spark Divine. God who is the light illuminating the universe, focusses, in the words of the poet, Himself in man, the highest product of His evolutionary process. In words of exultant joy does this visionary celebrate the greatness of Humanity.

> In thy deific whim
>   Didst bound
> Thy work's great round
> In this small ring of flesh;
> The sky's gold-knotted mesh
>   Thy wrist
>   Did only twist
> To take him in that net.

In him does the world of spirit and sense harmoniously blend themselves. The "ancestral clod" and "cherubim" have both their part in the development of his nature. He does not know his true significance, his great destiny. They are clear only to his spiritual eye to the " ear within the ear " but not to the ''clay-sealed sense.'[2] He contains within himself his own law; it is inscribed in letters of fire on the tablets of his heart. His own happiness is in his own self. Could he but interpret the longings of his own nature, could he but guide his activities he would, the poet assures us, know heavenly bliss. To realise herself the human soul must leave the beaten track of everyday life. She must deny the transient world of becoming and find her fullest realisation in the Oversoul.

Most proud,
When utterly bowed
To feel thyself to be
His dear non-entity
    Caught
Beyond human thought
In the thunderspout of him
Until thy being dim
    And be
Dead deathlessly.[1]

Man is thus both an animal and a spirit. The physical and the spiritual in the human personality are, according to Thompson, equally significant. It however required centuries for man to recognise the place and function of the Body in the evolution of human personality. As Thompson points out with just a touch of humour—

The physical and the spiritual in Men.

Said sprite o' me to body o' me:
A malison on thee, trustless creature
Thou prat'st thyself mine effigy
To them which view thy much misfeature.
My hest thou no way slav'st aright
Though Slave-service be all thy nature:
An evil thrall I have of thee
Thou adder coiled about delight.[2]

[1] To Any Saint.

[2] Health and Holiness.

Nay more, the unfortunate body could not escape by obedience. She was castigated and mortified lest she should be pampered into stubborn independence. But modern scientific thought has, the poet is conscious, changed the entire out-look on life. Its discoveries and investigations have laid a just emphasis on the complexity of the problem. "We can no longer set body against spirit and let them come into grips after the light-hearted fashion of our ancestors. We realise that their intertwinings are of infinite delicacy and endless multiplicity; no stroke upon the one but is innumerably reverberated by the other." However paradoxical it may appear to superficial view, "the co-operation of the body must be enlisted in the struggle against the body. It is the lusts of the healthy body which are formidable but to war with them the body must be kept in health." In fact, its health and redemption is the aim of all sanctity. The spirit

> Must keep pace and tarry, patient, kind,
> With its unwilling scholar, the dull tardy mind;
> Must be obseqiuous to the body's powers,
> Whose low hands mete its path, set ope and close its ways;[1]

Such limitation is, indeed, necessaay for its manifestation. The Titan is known "by his champed chain." "The splendent sun," the poet tells us, can never display its glory and splendour unless and until he dashes his broken ray on gross things. In fact,

> Did not obstruction's vessel hem it in
> Force were not force, would spill itself in vain.[1]

Though Thompson recognises the value of the physical aspect of the human personality, he nevertheless always moves in a world of the spirit. Man is, to him, more a cherub than an animal. From his very childhood, the human soul is "a visible brightness on the chosen ark of his body and consequently, to his discerning imagination, childhood is not the mere plaything of an hour, nor are children mere 'beautiful images on the shores of life. He can never forget the potent influence of childhood on his blasted youth. The bright vision of the child,—a blossom, he calls her, fallen from the budded coronal of spring,—who saved him with her charity and love at a time when hopeless and forlorn he was grimly 'waiting the inevitable doom,' always lives in his memory. It makes him reverent in the presence of childhood. Nor can he ever forget that his Redeemer was Himself a divine Child. His mystic imagination nurtured on such ideas of the Roman Catholic Church cannot but be conscious of the close and intimate relationship which exists between childhood and the Oversoul. The child always feels the influence of "divine o'ershadowings;" its heart attracts, by its very beauty and mystic glamour, the presence of "Burning Spirits" who instil into it eternal ideals and moods.[1] Its smile is heaven-born, "native in its very heaven." Soon however the earth closes round it and its joy fades away.

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[1] Sister Songs.

3. Childhood.

Thompson's attitude towards womanhood is influenced by the same spiritual outlook. His beloved is, to him, a spirit, a soul rising like an inhalation to the Divine Presence. It is the spiritual element in her nature which attracts and sustains him. Once this source of strength dries up, his very life "perishes to the foodless root."[2] He can discern only the soul that shines in and through her, but not the beauty of her countenance. He can never paint her physical appearance as he knows only her spirit. In fact the soul of the beloved is, in his opinion, the only reality; her physical attractions are mere "sexual veils" mere "habits of cloistral flesh." Her body is thus the vesture of her soul, the tabernacle where the spirit resides; its limbs mere instruments,

4. Womanhood and Love.

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[1] To a Poet breaking Silence.

[2] Manus Animum Pinxit.

servitors to carry out the behests of the sovereign lord within.[1] It is only a step more to recognise in the soul of woman an exalted being "for God grown marriageable." She is of the heaven, heavenly. Her slightest movement is fraught with spiritual glamour—

> The heavens hid
> Impend, at tremble of your lid
> And divine advent shine avowed
> Under that dim and lucid cloud.[2]

Equally spiritual is the influence she wields over human beings at large. In his idea of love Thompson is almost a Platonist. At the very first appearance of beauty his doubts and anxieties are laid at rest. The heart which had so long been tormented with the adversities of life rises superior to them all. He cries out in impetuous joy and welcomes from the depths of his being the first dawn of a newer life. His whole personality is wrapt up in the beloved. Every moment of his life, the most insignificant of his activities are all concentrated on her sweet presence.

> The hours I tread ooze memories of thee, sweet,
> Beneath my casual feet.
> With rainfall as the lea
> The day is drenched with thee ;
> In little exquisite surprises
> Bubbling deliciousness of thee arises
> From sudden places,
> Under common traces
> Of my most lethargied and customed paces.[3]

His mind may be sick of the bustle and tumult of modern life, its strife and contending ideals may leave him weak and distempered, yet the soothing presence of his beloved cures him of all these diseases and distempers. Her influence becomes, as it were, an integral part of his deepest personality.

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[1] Her Portrait.
[2] Sister Songs.
[3] *Ibid.*

> In all I work, my hand includeth thine
> Thou rushest down in every stream
> Whose passion frets my spirit's deepening forge ;
> Unhoodest my eyas-heart and fliest my dream ;
> Thou swingest the hammers of my forge;
> As the innocent moon, that nothing does but shine
> Moves all the labouring surges of the world.[1]

His is indeed a " chaste and intelligential love." It is reminiscent, like Platonic love, of the lover's antenatal life. Thompson the lover, almost always, transcends his earthly mortal existence and lives in the transcendental world of reality ; even in parting, the influence of the beloved lingers—

> " At the rich odours from her heart that rise
> My soul remembers its lost paradise,
> And ante-natal gales blow from Heaven's shores of spice;
> I grow essential all, uncloaking me
> From this encumbering virility.
> And feel the primal sex of heaven and poetry
> And, parting from her, in me linger on
> Vague snatches of Uranean Antiphon.[2]

The ecstasy which the lover feels at the first approach of the beloved or when she declares her love reminds us of Plato. The first kiss of love "touching long-laid expectance" goes up into one sudden transport of passion. The night itself wraps them round in "vibrant fore." The whole world feels the glow. It is hushed into silence and against the background of this transformed atmosphere of " impassioned calm " the passion of the poet seems to hang tremendously radiant in its own joy. The universe, its skies and hills, its great mysteries of life and death, yea God himself, become one with the lovers.[3] This one eternal moment of love's fulfilment, the poet celebrates in the exultant lines of many a song.

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[1] Sister Songs.

[2] Her Portrait.

[3] Ultima.

> Time's beating wing subsided, and the winds
> Caught up their breathing, and the world's great pulse
> Stayed in mid-throb and the wild train of life
> Reeled by, and left us stranded in a hush.
> This moment is a statue unto love
> Carved from a fair white silence. [1]

The poet's love has both the height of ecstasy and the depth of misery. The absence of the beloved leaves him forlorn and disconsolate. His songs become dumb, his guardian angel no longer guides and comforts him. He yearns for her and hankers for the slightest token of her remembrance.[2] He worships her lifeless portrait and dreams of the past.[3] Yet in the sorrow of parting, in the midst of all his misery, he feels a strange sweetness.

> For nothing of me or around
> But absent she did leaven,
> Felt in my body as its soul
> And in my soul, its heaven. [4]

A love so spiritual cannot but be eternal. The lover that loves " with all his life " must also love " with all his death " too. Even when the beloved leaves this world of joys and sorrows, love does not die. On the contrary,

> There was no change in her sweet eyes
> Since last I saw those sweet eyes shine;
> There was no change in her deep heart
> Since last that deep heart knocked at mine
>
> ……………………………………………………
>
> I joyed for me, I joyed for her,
> Who with the past meet girt about:
> Where our last kiss still warms the air
> Nor can her eyes go out.[5]

[1] Her Portrait.
[2] A Carier Song.
[3] Before her Portrait in Youth.
[4] After Parting.
[5] Dream-Tryst,

Nature and Man.

The romantic poets had re-established nature in English literature. In their poems she was invested with deep spiritual significance for the soul of man. She was the refuge of depressed humanity; she consoled the stricken heart of man when, weary from strife he came to her for solace and sympathy. She was also a mighty influence to form, chasten and ennoble those who came into intimate contact with her. There seemed to be a " pre-established harmony " between the soul of nature and the soul of man. This was nature's " holy plan." Man had fallen a victim to all the miseries of his life by ignoring this inherent harmony and so had to lament of " what man has made of man." The poet thus created nature in his own image and after his likeness. His own spiritual ideals invested nature with a glow and radiance which was, to a very great extent, an emanation from his own personality. The scientific spirit of modern times cannot, however, accept this subjective attitude towards the external world. It shatters the poet's dream and seeks to represent nature as she really is. The evolutionary process that it discovers in her gives an entirely different picture ; and no modern poet can ignore the conclusions arrived at, after careful analysis and experiment, by the master-minds of the present age. A Tennyson has, consequently, to recognise nature's callousness to the individual and the type; and to portray her not only as a benign spirit but also as a cruel monster " red in tooth and claw."

Thompson is fully aware of the implications underlying the discoveries of science. He cannot accept the subjective outlook so common among romantic poets. " Nature," says Coleridge, " has ministrations by which she heals her erring and distempered child." "It is notorious," retorts Thompson. "how ineffectual were her ministrations in the case of Coleridge himself.[1] In fact he finds nothing but an externalisation of the poet's own self in the so-called responsiveness of nature to human moods.

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[1] Nature's Immortality.

Nature has no personality of her own. She has no heart, only a beautiful exterior. " You speak and you think that she answers you. It is the echo of your own voice. You think you hear the throbbing of her own heart and it is the throbbing of your own." [1] He rejects the " conventional doctrine derived from Wordsworth and Shelley " that nature has " a heart of love " stealing out to man " through a thousand avenues of mute sympathy." On the contrary, he would rather echo Coleridge and say

> Oh Lady! we receive but what we give
> And in our life alone does nature live;
> Ours her wedding garment, ours her shroud!
>
> ……………………………………………
>
> I may not hope from outward forms to win
> The passion and the life whose fountains are within !

He is not " nature's natural." He will not worship her with " impious flatterings sweet." The spirit of nature and her communion with the human soul are mere shibboleths of poetic coteries which grew up here and there after " the great mouth of Rydal ceased." The poet receives no intimations of immortality from recollections of childhood. He finds no " divine gleams forgot " in the experiences of his early age. The virgin hills, the streams, the "verdant blooms "—all the beautiful aspects of nature appeal to the imagination of childhood indeed ; but in their appeal there is no mystic element, no hint that "the soul cometh from afar and hath elsewhere its setting." It is " simple wonder in a wonderous sight" which the child feels as he gazes at the beautiful panorama of natural scenery around him. As he grows older, he may hanker after the fresh joy in nature which he has lost. He may want to knit again the broken chain

> To run and be to the sun's bosom caught
> Over life's bended brows prevail
> With laughter of the insolent nightingale
> Jocund of heart in darkness.[1]

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[1] Of Nature, Laud and Plaint.

But if he seeks refuge in nature from human ills he will be greatly disappointed. Nature cannot heal the wounds of the human heart nor can she give unto the stricken soul of man the balm which he sorely needs. Is nature then, as scientists often say, a mere inert mass uninspired by the " Breath Divine " ? On the contrary it is the unfolding of the Divine to the Human mind. " The supreme spirit creating reveals his conceptions to man in the material forms of nature." "An ideal wakes in the Omnipotent Painter ; and straightway over the eternal dikes rush forth the flooding tides of light and the blue heaven ripples into stars; nature from Alp to Alpine flower, rises lovely with the betrayal of the Divine thought. An ideal wakes in the Divine Poet and there chimes the rhythm of an ordered universe. An ideal wakes in the Omnipotent Musician and creation vibrates with the harmony from the palpitating throat of the bird to the surges of his thunder as they burst along the roaring strand of heaven." Nature is indeed the Divine Idea " taking to itself flesh."[1] It is the vesture, the veil which conceals and at the same time reveals the Eternal. The world's unfolded blossom smells of God.[2]

The world of nature is, like the Sun itself, the

> " Resplendent and prevailing Word
> Of the unheard."[3]

It is the mere " image " of the Eternal creator and receives its splendour and glory from its " aboriginal sire " who exists " beyond death and resurgence of our day and night." It is instinct with Divine life and man can approach it only through its Creator God. Nature, as Thompson very pertinently points out, " lives in the life of God and in so far and so far merely as man himself lives in that life does he come into sympathy with nature and nature with him."[4]

[1] Nature's Immortality.

[2] From the Night of Forebeing.

[3] The Orient Ode.

[4] Nature's Immortality.

"For know, this Lady nature thou hast left
Of whom thou fear'st thee reft,
This Lady is God's daughter, and she lends
Her hand but to his friends
But to her father's friends the hand that
thou wouldst win."[1]

A. K. SEN

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[1] Of Nature—Laud and Plaint.

STORM MAJESTY

I love to watch the darkness creep about
The earth when storms blow salty from the sea.
When shadows' feet are heavy, and each tree
Bends back its wind-drenched boughs—when flashes flout
Their threatening zigzag streaks, or when pools sprout
Like toadstools, here and there, I do not flee.
The shrill and strident tones are in a key
To which the wind and whistling winds cry out.
It is on nights like these that I can hear
The pavements answer cries of pounding walls ;
And I can see the dim stars disappear
As though some unseen hand of midnight squalls
Had thrown them from the inky sky to clear
The space for Vulcan's forge and flaming halls.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A WORLD-RELIGION

The existence of many diverse beliefs among men may hinder, but cannot for all time prevent, an approximation to a future universal religion. As every religion contains some truths, and as all truths combined constitute Reality or God, so until all truths are apprehended and accepted by men, it will not be possible for them to arrive at one ultimate religion. However, since God is one, it may be correctly assumed that men shall be finally led to Him through their belief in one true religion. Thus until that ultimate state is reached it is not proper for any person, since man does not possess perfect knowledge, to reject the truths that exist in religions other than his own. As all religious beliefs are in a state of flux and as religions are ever advancing and shall ever advance in the apprehension of truth, so any religion, however advanced it may be at its best, is but an attempt at the establishment of a perfect relation with God. Therefore, it may be hoped that in the remote future it will not be impossible for men to arrive at one universally accepted religion.

As in all living organisms the old and decayed cells are incessantly eliminated for the formation of newer cells and bodies, similarly the genius of religion, if religion is to be deemed a living organism, shall ever be active in its life-history to lead its many existing forms towards perfection; and when their diversities disappear, all religions will merge in one. Thus every man has an indispensable part to play in the progress towards the world-religion. It is, therefore, to be hoped that all men, in their longing for a closer relation with God through their increased knowledge of truth, will always help the future progress towards a final religion, for religion is the adaptation of the law of perfection to spiritual life. The advent of a finally perfected religion will remove all the religious differences of men and pave the way for the establishment of concord and goodwill among them for ever.

Unity and infinity are the two aspects of God. Thus diverse religious beliefs are accounted for, and men are justified in adhering to them for a time. The universe is God's visible expression. Behind His infinite manifestations He lies hidden. Men know Him as the Hidden One. The Hebrew sage calls Him Jehovah, or one whose name is "I am that I am." According to the Brahmanic Rishi, He is the one from whom words come back failing to comprehend Him; in other words, "He is what He is." So God invisible, inconceivable, and unutterable cannot be formulated in words but can only be worshipped in spirit as Truth, Love, Wisdom, Power, etc., that is to say, in some of the attributes which are most prominently suggested as belonging to Him.

The Brahmanic Rishi says, "God is attained by truth." Christ says, "God shall be worshipped in spirit and in truth." There is but one good test for the ascertainment of truth. If men find that some statements about God and their duty towards Him, made by different prophets or interpreters of God in different ages and climes, substantially agree with one another, then they should take such statements to be truths coming from God. All individuals do not possess spiritual discernment in an adequate degree, but only those who are specially endowed by God with this gift have the power of declaring truths to the rest of mankind. Confucius said that his work was to indicate rather than to originate. The Buddha said that he showed only the old way. Christ said that he declared nothing but what he had heard from his Father. Muhammad said that he proclaimed the will of Allah as it had come to him. Thus, taking the statements of these chosen men of God as the models of God's declaration to His children, we may assume that they satisfy the test of truth and contain the essential ingredients of the religion which men should accept. If this is done, a world-religion will be established for the whole human race.

The Vedas, perhaps the first scriptures to recognize the Fatherhood of God—an endearing aspect fo personality in which man invoked God for His blessings—contain a fundamentally monotheistic belief. In the Vedic religion the phenomena of Nature, such as the sun, the fire, the air, etc., were worshipped as God's semblances. In some passages of the Vedas they are said to be different names of the one and the same Deity, as God is the only longed-for of men and "inhabits their praises," to Whom alone all worship goes. But it seems that in course of time when the worship of the phenomena of Nature failed to satisfy the hearts and minds of some men, when their knowledge of God had undergone considerable change, they began to grumble and ask, "Who is the real object of our worship"? ("Kasmai Devaya Havisha Vidhemah.") It is supposed that failing to get any satisfactory answer, they left their native land and migrated from India to another country, expecting that there they would be better able to practise their religion according to their conscience. The scholars who maintain this theory base their view upon an interpretation, different from that of Sayana, of certain passages which are found in the Vedas. But as to the correctness of the interpretation I have my doubts, as such an interpretation does not seem to fit in with the context. The old Vedic religion, grand and simple as it was observed in the worship of the invisible Brahman through His manifestations, has now become a religion merely in name, recorded in book but observed little in practice. From the Vedic conception of the immanence of God in Nature sprang that of Him in humanity, and from it came the identification of Him with it, and this led to the doctrine of pantheism which now possesses half the heart of Hindu India.

Hinduism, which is a combination of diverse old and new beliefs and ideas, and of observances of rites, ceremonies and customs of the largest section of the people of India, gradually sprang up after the decline of the faith of its old Aryan inhabitants in Vedic religion which was its original source. In it may be found almost every kind of religious thought or sentiment that has ever existed in the conception of man, and even now it is assimilating some new thoughts and sentiments. Thus it may be considered a repository of almost all shades of religious idea or belief, old and new,—a fact which leads one to think that Hinduism, though very old, is not yet a fossil religion, but is one which continues to be a living organism capable of drawing in new light for its own further advancement. We know it was in full vigour when the Buddha preached his religion. So taking it to be at least 1,000 years older than Buddhism its age may now be estimated at about 3,500 years.

Hinduism, which in a sense is a term convertible with Brahmanism, consists of the worship of the three principal gods, namely, Brahma—the creator, Vishnu—the preserver, and Siva—the destroyer. There are also lesser deities such as Durga—the goddess of energy, Saraswati—the goddess of learning, Lakshmi—the goddess of prosperity, and Ganesh—the god of wisdom. Besides, the sun and the fire are worshipped, and the cow is regarded with veneration. The Brahmana who is said to have come from the mouth of Brahma, occupies the sacerdotal place amongst the people and receives the highest reverence. Rama and Krishna are worshipped as the incarnations of God. The Hindu is a firm believer in the doctrines of pantheism, re-birth and fatalism. Believing as he does in the unity of God with the universe, he apprehends God's oneness in His manyness. He believes that all inequalities in his present life are explained by the deeds done by him in a former birth, many of which are necessary for attaining perfection, and without which his oneness with God cannot be realized. He also believes that all that he does and all that happens to him have been pre-determined in heaven. Thus in a sense every Hindu is a philosopher not only in mind but also in his daily practice. The Hindu, who is in general spiritually advanced, avers that he does not worship the images themselves that he sees before him, but the powers and attributes of God that they visualize. Some scholars of Indology opine that the worship of the Hindu pantheon in its present form was not prevalent in India before the Greek invasion, but was introduced there by the Greeks who in their own country worshipped their gods in images. The Hindu who by his religious faith has learnt to be liberal-minded towards all faiths, believes that salvation is not restricted to a particular form of conception of God, but can be attained by all His children by diverse ways, if only they devoutly seek Him. In his view the Hindu scriptures, namely the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavat Gita, etc., are all living utterances of God and contain such unique spiritual teaching and ethical instruction about man's duty towards God and his fellow-beings that for his *mukti* it is not necessary for him to seek the help of any other religion. It only concerns him to strive to develop his *bhakti* towards God and compassion towards all creatures. Thus it appears that the essential features of a good religion are the constituents of Hinduism. It is the most die-hard of religions and also the longest-lived in the world, which has survived the onslaughts of Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Christianity for about two centuries and a half.

Zoaroasterism, or the religion founded by Zoroaster about 1000 B.C. and contained in the Zend Avesta, is a form of monotheism that is found in the Vedas of the ancient Aryan. It is believed that the Parsis, who originally belonged to the ancient Aryan stock then inhabiting Northern India, migrated owing to some religious difference with their brethren to Persia where Zarathustra founded his new religion. This conclusion is sustained by the similarity that is noticed in the forms of worship of Zoroastrian and Vedic religions. As in the Vedas the worship of God is combined with that of Nature, so it is in the religion of the Parsi. The Parsi is taught to face some luminous object such as fire, while worshipping God and to regard it as His visible emblem. Owing to this, in the mind of the Parsi there is a peculiar instinct of awe felt towards light and fire, as many Christians feel regarding the Cross. The creed of the Parsi is embodied in the belief in one God to whom he addresses his prayer. Another important tenet of his religion is contained in the observance of the three things, namely, pure thought, pure word, and pure deed. He believes in the judgment of God, the reward of virtue and punishment of vice. Zoroasterism is a religion in which monotheism has been maintained unchanged from its beginning down to the present day.

Buddhism, which next demands our attention, is perhaps the grandest philosophical doctrine that has ever been presented to the human race. In its days of glory it paved the way, perhaps more than any other religious system, for a life of rigid, unselfish service, not of humanity only, but of all creatures on earth. Buddhism teaching, as it does, the noble path of life and good work without the expectation of any reward whatsoever, in this world or in the next, stands unparalleled in the history of religion. But owing unfortunately to its reticence about the existence of God, its theory of No-soul and the theory of the Law of Causation eternally working and producing all things,—principles not comprehensible to the ordinary intellect,—its hold on the minds of men gradually slackened in the course of time. Buddhism flourished in full vigour for several centuries in the land of its birth, as had been foretold by its great founder. At present it exists in a feeble form in some parts of India, such as Burma and the Himalayan regions. In Ceylon, China and Japan it now prevails in considerably modified forms.

Besides the principal cause, namely, its reticent, or rather its negative attitude towards a supreme spiritual being in the universe, several other causes contributed to the practical disappearance of Buddhism from India. Thus although the beautiful tenets of the religion and the lovable personality of its great founder had originally roused the affection of the people to an overwhelming extent, its teaching gradually became repugnant to them as their old religious instincts, habits and predilections re-asserted themselves, accustomed as they had been to the worship of Brahman from a hoary antiquity. The second cause of its decline in India was probably the conduct of the rulers of the country, who, after embracing Buddhism, totally disregarded their political obligations and adopted strict asceticism. The situation was made worse by the indifference shown by Buddhist citizens towards political concerns, an attitude very different from that of the people of the West, who, on their conversion to Christianity, never thought of remouncing their political duties. Yet another cause of the decline of Buddhism possibly was the natural desire on the part of the people, after the subsidence of their original enthusiasm, to revert to a matter-of-fact existence. Just as many followers of Christ who had left their homes expecting the advent of the kingdom of their national God, became disillusioned after his death and settled down to ordinary life, so after the death of the Buddha the bulk of the people, who in their first religious frenzy had given up the pleasures of family life and all worldly concerns largely reverted to their former ways of life and their previous associations. Thus the old Brahmanic form of worship, so attractive in its spectacular aspect, whose influence over the hearts and minds of the people had greatly diminished owing to the impact of the new religious thought, re-asserted itself and succeeded largely in dissipating the power of Buddhism in India. At last the caterpillar of foreign invasion finished what the Brahmanic cankerworm had left, and the Buddhist institutions were devastated and their adherents dispersed all over the country.

It is remarkable that, while all the other religions of the world extended to other countries by means of conquest, Buddhism was the only one which did so without having a recourse to arms, and that though it now holds within its fold about the one-third of the whole human race yet there are many others who, without professing to be Buddhists in faith yet are ardent lovers of the teachings of the Buddha.

Let us now consider the religion of the Jews. This religion, generally regarded as monotheistic, was not so before the time of Abraham. The monotheistic form of worship among the Jews was a later phase of their religion. Their primitive faith, when they were in Central Asia, was a kind of Nature-worship which included human sacrifice. In connection with their worship of Nature and the Seasons, they observed the feasts of the Harvest, Easter and In-gathering. The feasts of the new Moon and Sabbath were also held by them. The number seven, a relic of star-worship connected with the seven planets, was considered sacred. The Jewish festivals as well as the weeks, months and years were all regulated by this number. As the Jews were not an isolated nation in the midst of aliens but were a branch of the Semitic people who had migrated from Central Asia towards the West, so naturally their form of worship became similar to that of their surrounding peoples; that is to say, it was polytheistic. Hence we find that the Jews worshipped the gods of the Amonites, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Phœnicians and the Philistines, down to the time of their Babylonian captivity. During the times of Kings Solomon, Ahab, Ahaz, etc., such gods as Molech, Chemosh, Astoreth and Baal were worshipped with human sacrifice along with Jehovah, their national God. The Jews were also polytheistic in practice when they lived in Egypt, for we find Aaron, in order to satisfy the old polytheistic craving, made a golden image of a bull and declared that it was their God Jehovah who had brought them out of Egypt. After this, although from time to time several prophets rising amongst the Jews bitterly denounced their idolatrous worship, they continued to be addicted to their abominable practice. However we noticed that, for the first time in their religious history, monotheism was rigidly enjoined in the Mosaic Law to be their natural form of worship, when connection was established between their religion and moral life. At last, about two thousand years ago, Christ rising among the Jews, filled with the spirit of God, and intending to reform the Jewish religion, declared that man's salvation lay in nothing but in the performance of his duty of love towards the one God and man, in obedience to Him as He delighted more in the observance of duty than in ceremony and sacrifice. Christ preached with such power and authority that there scarcely remained anything of the old Jewish religion except its monotheism as inculcated by Father Abraham, and the priests of his time, unable to bear with him, crucified him to death in revenge.

Coming to Muhammadanism, we find that it is a monotheistic religion. It stands almost unrivalled in its teaching about obedience to God. The old spirit of Father Abraham, who is said to have proceeded to slay his son, as a sacrifice to God, still actuating the devout Moslem of to-day, he considers it his highest duty to do everything that he believes to be the behest of Allah. Abraham taught the unity of God with no mediators, though he expressed the view that from time to time according to the needs of the world, teachers had been and would be sent by God to reveal His will to mankind. When Muhammad took up his mission the people of Arabia were sunk in the worst practices of the perverted forms of Judaism, Christianity, Idolatry and Fetishism. So the theory that whatever is good in Muhammadanism is borrowed from Christianity cannot be sustained in the light of recent investigations. The teaching of Christianity that Christ is God is repudiated in the Koran.

Muhammad professed at the outset of his religious career to belong to the sect called Abrahamite, the followers of which believed in one God and were guided by the Law, the Gospels, and certain rolls of Abraham and Moses. The teaching of Abraham, as found in the Talmud, consisted in the belief in the existence of one God who rules the universe with mercy and loving kindness and alone disposes of the destinies of men. He declared that idolatry, even when combined with the worship of God, was to be regarded with abhorrence. He also taught that God helped the oppressed and the persecuted. Man, according to

Him, must pray to God alone, serve Him in love and obediently perform all His commands even at the sacrifice of his life and those of his dear ones. We also read in the Talmud that he who is not merciful to his fellowmen is not of the children of Abraham. Mercy and kindness are not to be withheld from any man, but extended to every human being on earth, irrespective of birth, creed or nationality. Noble teachings are these for the guidance and elevation of man.

To his religion Muhammad gave the name Islam, from which is derived the word Muslim which means one who, in obedience to God, strives for righteousness with all his heart and strength. In Islam Church and State are found so closely identified that the life of the believer is controlled by the constitution of society and government which are believed to be divinely established. But though founded with high motives, though the personality of its founder was great, and though it was endowed with an ardent religious faith, yet it is regrettable that many followers of Islam regard all reforms as acts of rebellion against divine enactment. However, it must be said to the credit of this religion that teaching, as it does, the unity of God, Islam has functioned in engendering a remarkable spirit of unity amongst its followers. Another noteworthy feature of Islam is that it has succeeded in almost extinguishing the use of intoxicating liquor amongst its followers, an achievement which no Christian country has so far been able to accomplish by legislation.

Brahmoism is not a new religion, but is—if I may be permitted to use the metaphor—the new wine of advanced thought put into the old Vedic bottle. It draws its inspiration from the Upanishads and the Vedanta which were subsequent developments of the old Vedic Religion. It, however, differs from the Vedic religion in this that it has discarded the worship of the powers of Nature. But the way in which the Brahmo religion is practised does not seem likely to enable it to continue long its hold on the minds of men. Its lack of power and its divorce from the realities of life are due to its too scholastic manner of treating of the Deity. Such intellectualism alone is not enough to save and elevate. Besides, with its too much of divinity and too little of humanity, it is deprived of the blessings of the God of religion. Thus the genius of Brahmoism is being strangled and it is becoming more a religion of the pulpit than of life. Its rich thoughts and teachings, unfortunately lying confined within the Church, bear no fruit for the outer world. But if Brahmoism could learn from the religion of Christ who based the love of God upon the love of man and enjoined the practice of it in actual life, then Brahmoism might be rid of this unwholesome feature which at present hinders its vigorous growth. The highly uplifting moral teaching of Christianity that its followers have to suffer with their fellow-beings in love, as God identifying himself with the universe suffers with it in love, which has elevated their conduct and character, producing glorious bands of self-effacing saints in Christendom in the last 2000 years, has no parallel in Brahmoism and this has impeded the moral and spiritual advance of the Brahmo. A fuller infusion of the spirit of Christ can remove its disadvantages and make it a beautiful religion. One great merit of Brahmoism is that it is not founded on myths and dogmas, and this fact encourages the hope that the essentials of this religion, modified in the light of experience, will enter into the composition of the future world-religion.

Lastly we come to a great living religion, perhaps the greatest of all living religions, namely, the religion which is associated with the name of Christ. Christ based his religion essentially upon the love of God and man, taking sufficient care against any subsequent misrepresentation of his teaching. But unfortunately after the death of Christ, St. Paul introduced a new doctrine of Trinity which he designated his "New Gospel." In it he declared that Christ was the second person in the Godhead, which Christ had never said he was. Christ was a real man amongst men. Since in the Old Testament God said that He had none beside him and also in the New Testament Christ taught that God was one, the teaching of St. Paul was a blasphemy and a repudiation of the declaration of Christ. The essence of St. Paul's philosophy was that a belief in Christ, as the son of God, was all that was necessary for man's salvation, as Christ by his superfluous virtue had stood for man before God as his accepted ransom and substitute. The same small-mindedness as had led the ancient Jew to make their Jehova a tribal Deity led St. Paul to make God a sectarian Deity available only for the salvation of the Christian. This is quite contradictory to the whole teaching of Christ, who said "Do this and live." In other words, Christ taught that man's salvation was to be secured not by any creed, but by his change of heart and actual deed of love. The beautiful religion of Christ in its subsequently perverted form now counts among its followers a large proportion of the human race and unfortunately passes for the original religion that was preached by him.

Christ based man's love of God—whom he cannot see—upon the love of man—whom he sees. He said that God could not be served except through His children. According to His teaching the religion of deed came before the profession of creed. So it may be deduced that the absence of creed was an essential feature of His religion. Thus we find that sectarianism had no place in what he taught. Christ taught that "abundant life" or salvation could only be earned by man's loving sacrifice of life for his fellowmen. Though this seems to be a paradoxical statement yet it is in perfect conformity with the nature of God, who in His infinity and love has identified Himself with His whole creation and suffers with it. Christ exhorted man to strive to live the life of God, the highest life that can be lived by him. Christ lived it, dying a tragic death in fulfilment of the divine law of love which he had preached. Christ is dead ; His material body is dust. But his divine spirit of loving sacrifice still animates and shall always animate every man who comes in contact with it, and it shall enable him to live like him and give him such conduct and character as would be approved of God. Christ, while he was on earth, said, "You are truly my disciples if you love one another." His spirit still whispers the same to man.

It is noteworthy that Christ's teaching summed up in the love of man is typical of what was preached before him by the hierarchy of prophets and teachers of God for the uplift of the human race. In it our problem finds a creditable solution upon which a universal religion can be built. But as no religion has existed in one form for more than two thousand years, we may presume to aver that the Christianity of the present day, based mainly as it is upon St. Paul's teaching shall, despite its otherwise highly moral character, cease to live in the near future. The disintegration of Christianity now proceeding is bound to continue, until shorn of its traditional and dogmatic drapery, it will be reduced to its fundamental elements as preached by its divine founder,—the common essentials of all religions worthy of the name.

If we find to-day that considerable material, moral and spiritual advancement has taken place in Christian countries its cause should be properly attributed to the influence of the unique personality of Christ and the exquisitely uplifting nature of his teaching, as recorded in the Gospels of his disciples but not to the doctrine of St. Paul which is a subversion of monotheism, and is also contrary to the Law of Progress under which God has placed His universe.

Christ enjoined his disciples to seek and find the truth that they may be set free ; in other words he taught that by the attainment of the knowledge of truth man is able to attain salvation, being delivered from the bondage of sin, superstition, tradition, old authority, prejudice and false notion, which delude him and darken his understanding regarding Truth or Reality. It is noteworthy to find that Christ's definition of the meaning of salvation is similar to that of the Hindu Rishis and of the

Buddha who averred that ignorance was the cause of all human miseries and that man's deliverance from it, or the liberated state of his soul, was salvation or *mukti*. We also find that Christ called his disciples "the light of the world." As after the entrance of light into a room from all directions no corner thereof is left in darkness, so he anxiously expected that his disciples after opening the windows of their souls on all sides and being themselves filled with the fullest light of truth would be able to lead all men to truth. But it is to be deplored that as the teaching of the Christian Scriptures after Christ's death has been that there is nothing more to know beyond what the Fathers said and that the Christian should hold fast "the faith" once delivered to the saints, it has made him not only a non-seeker of truth but also a withstander of it, whereby the onward march of Christianity has been seriously impeded whilst the other religions of the world, not so hampered, are free to advance towards perfection.

When Christ taught to seek and find the truth for liberation or salvation by the use of the future tense he implied that the truth was not then yet fully attained by his disciples and even his own teaching then delivered to them should not be considered complete and final for all time, and he emphasized that men's further knowledge of God on their deliverance from ignorance about the mysteries of life would afterwards help their attainment of the realization of their true place in the universe in relation to God. Whether such realization be called liberation or salvation, it can only be gradual. From another saying of his, namely, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," we may rightly infer that, as he then found his disciples ignorant of many deeply important truths of life the knowledge of which would be vitallay essential for them, he hoped that more knowledge would gradually dawn upon them in the light of their future experience, and so believing that time was not yet ripe for them to hear about the mysterium tremendum of life, he purposely kept silent.

We may reduce the whole religion of Christ to two duties, namely, one towards God and the other towards man. As God is Spirit and Truth, He taught man to seek and worship Him in spirit and truth; and as man is spirit and matter, he taught him to love man in spirit and serve him by body's act of love, so that his whole being might be uplifted and saved.

Faith is the spiritual experience of man at a certain stage of his life. Thus faith is, at its best, man's religious adjustment for a time, as it is then considered by him the means of attaining Reality—the aim of religion. By faith the believer's spiritual ideas are advanced and his conception of and relation to God are better apprehended. By it also his moral conduct in relation to his fellowmen is improved. Thus faith is necessary for man's spiritual advancement. But man's adherence to a particular form of faith, for all time, should not be considered by him as his unalterable duty, for forms are not permanent things but vary with experience. So faith being an experiential thing, if in a man's life an ancient faith is still adhered to in spite of the indication of newer light, then it becomes a source of danger. Also, as faith is belief in a thing which though not seen yet exists, so faith in a thing which does not exist is a delusion, and no man should for ever labour under it.

Christianity was apposite before its reconstruction by St. Paul. But if after the advent of newer light and fresh revelation St. Paul's new teaching is still believed in and adhered to, then the ethical and spiritual progress of the believer becomes impeded, inasmuch as the further gift of God not being availed of by him and his intellect and reason are disregarded, his condition becomes imperilled.

Thus if the traditional Christianity now prevalent, which was promulgated by St. Paul and his associates and disciples about two thousand years ago, is not now revised in accordance with the light of the experience of modern times, it will be unworthy of the acceptance of man at the present day. Therefore, the present condition of Christianity as a religion, may be regarded as one of crisis.

The intellectual problems of religion are dependent on man's conscious relation to a Higher Being. Science and religion are engaged in discovering his right relation to God through the adjustment of the faith that can lead to Him. Between these two co-ordinates Reality holds high its being in eternity. But if faith begotten of the imagination of man, the mother of senseless creeds and lifeless ceremonies, inconstant and changing, in which the spiritual is conceived in the experience of the material, shrouded in half light and half darkness, is still adhered to in one unaltered form for all time by men who are conscious of not being born on earth only to suffer and decay, but whose desire is to leave it in a condition better than what they found it and to enter into a better hereafter, then it becomes a source of danger in their spiritual life. So faith, the foundation of religion, must be the belief in a thing which though not seen yet exists and can lead to salvation. Faith must not be a riddle, as faith in a thing that does not exist cannot save, for it is nothing but a delusion. In Hinduism, in Islam and in Christianity salvation is said to be attained by faith. But faith in Christianity requires belief in the Trinity of the Godhead, while in the two former religions it means belief in the unity of God. Thus there is a fundamental distinction between the faith that is in Christianity and that is in Hinduism and Islam. In Hinduism and Islam God is believed to be one without a second or a third. But if God is more than one as in Christianity, why was it not so discovered and declared by His prophets and chosen servants who had come before St. Paul, or how is it that God kept His children so long deprived of this great truth about Him upon which depended their salvation ?

Reason, the highest gift of God to man, indicates that conceived in one aspect God is one, but viewed in another aspect He appears to be many. But as man's imagination may lead him to fanciful concepts so he is endowed with benign reason which mercifully intervenes between him and his imagination to save him from false conclusions. Christ said that the seeker of truth would be freed from delusion, that is to say, he would solve the riddle of salvation. Thus the faith which is not rooted in truth should not be persevered in by man for ever, but it should be a progressively conscious adjustment of his relation to God through experience which is calculated to lead to Reality or his attainment of the highest spiritual blessing. So progressive humanity in search for Reality shall always proceed towards the fountain-head of truth which is never closed.

Every faith is good in its initial stage as it constitutes some advance in the thoughts and ideas of man about God for the moment. But as religion cannot but be an experiential thing, so if traditional Christianity is not altered according to man's present light in order to evaluate and improve it, it will continue to operate injuriously as a sepsis in its body. The actual position of Christianity of the present day seems to be that though the old edifice is still standing, yet its structure has become so dilapidated with age that it is now in a tottering condition and has become unfit for habitation in safety. No wonder that we find that it has lost its old reverence and affection in many a heart and fails to give that peace and satisfaction which is expected from it. Religious cynicism has singed the hearts of many, and not a few schisms of the nature which " distinguishes and divides a hair 'twixt south and southwest sides " not infrequently crop up and cause interminable cleavage in the Church. If a considerable number of men still profess to belong to the Church, it is because they have not found any suitable institutions to resort to for their spiritual edification. If traditional Christianity, as it has prevailed since the death of Christ, is still found to uphold some power in some places it is largely because of rich endowments and of the support lent it by the State. Deprive it of the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed and it is more than likely that traditional Christianity will gradually disintegrate as other old religions have disintegrated in the past.

Man's spiritual progress cannot be held in check by any artificial measures, however powerful they may be. The universe of power that lies within the spirit of religion will sweep away all obstacles before it on its onward march. As in all previous religions so also in traditional Christianity, we may predict that all that is dross and of ephemeral value shall be thrown overboard as jetsam for safe sailing towards the goal to which it is destined. As man's religious adjustment can only be sustained by that which is true and rational, so man cannot for ever remain content with a religion unless he finds it to be logically theological, besides being philosophical in essence. Though in rituals, institutions and old imaginative materials one religion may differ from another for a time, yet in the essential constituents of a world-religion there must be unanimity. So in our quest for a universal religion, we should seek what is the most valid, rational and spiritual in experience, and until this is found, man's religion will be but a search for a religion—a mere wayfarer's glimpse of God. In the light of ever newer experience man's future religion will be gradually and more fully evolved. Thus it may be assumed that the measure of man's knowledge about God will be the measure of his progress towards the goal.

However, in the religion of Christ we find that there are stored up priceless truths, the essential elements of man's true religion, declared to the world by God's chosen servants from hoary ages. But as the ever-advancing world is concerned only with the best lived men and their teachings, so it is to be noted that Christ did not think it necessary for him to attempt to establish any relationship with God higher than that of His other children. In fact, when on one occasion some one called him good, he at once declined to be called so, saying that as God only was good he should not be associated with Him in that respect. By this Christ made himself more adorable amongst men than he would have been if he had accepted the distinction.

Divested of the Divinity which the church thrust upon Christ after his death, he will ever remain the supreme teacher for making the unique contribution to ethics that can uplift humanity and make it perfect as desired by God. But though Christianity of the present day, like all religions of old, will dissolve in time, yet we may safely premise that the basic principle of Christ's teaching—the refined gold of true religion—shall become the chief constituent of an ever-advancing religion which shall gradually mould the final religion of the world and through which shall be accomplished the Divine scheme for the salvation of the human race.

If salvation is the goal of religion, in it must lie what God has spoken about the means of its attainment through His chosen prophets and teachers in all ages and climes. There are truths revealed in all religions ; but in the most essential of them must lie the will of God, living in obedience to which shall be secured man's ever-lasting happiness. Therefore, as in the ever-advancing universe all religions are marching towards perfection, it is not fair to make a disparaging comparison between one religion and another at any particular period of its life-history.

In our search for a world-religion we have been forced to examine the fundamental elements of all the principal religions that have existed in the past. We notice that there is a harmony which runs like a thread through the teachings of all the prophets and teachers of God. This harmony lies in the teaching about the perfection of man's love of God and man. This is the rich inheritance that the world owes to Vyasa, Confucius, Zoroaster, the Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and others who have taught man his one supreme duty, namely, the practice of the love of God and man, by which means alone can the attainment of his ultimate happiness be possible. The teaching of Christ being peerless, we are justified in taking it to be the supreme model to be followed for the establishment of a world-religion. In the observance of the principles of Christ lies the foundation of a universal religion leading to the ultimate happiness of the whole human race. When this universal religion is established, all men of the East and the West, the North and the South, being filled with the spirit of God and knowing their duty and practising it in life will embrace one another in love, exclaiming, "We have found Him Who is joy and happiness Eternal realizing what it is to be saved." Then will all accept God as their only Saviour, Priest, Sacrifice, Truth, Knowledge, Love and the Seed of good, and know their own selves as His temples.

I have hitherto dwelt upon the need for the unity of one belief and worship of God, basing man's happiness upon its establishment. But on close consideration it will be perceived that in reality below men's religious diversities on the surface, there is a *stratum* of fundamental unity. For, whether God is worshipped as One by the Zoroastrian, the Muhammadan and the Brahmo, or as in the Trinity by the Christian, or as many by the Hindu, God alone is worshipped and none else—by him who seeks Him, as He alone is the Saviour and the Creator of all living creatures. Since no man has seen God and knows exactly what God is, even a mental conception of God may not be His true portrayal; therefore, the conclusion of theology is but a conclusion arrived at through the inadequate and imperfect senses of man. But there is no doubt that He "who inhabiteth the praises of Israel," also inhabiteth the praises of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Muhammadan, the Christian and even of him who worships Him through the powers of Nature, images, symbols or in any form or manner whatsoever ; and that He who seeeth the fruit in the bud, in the day of His ingathering in His infinite mercy casting none away will make His "pile complete." As all rivers running straight or meanderingly, quickly or slowly, direct their courses towards the ocean and in the end flow into it, so the worship of every man reaches God, the only object of worship, for all that His children need and seek is God's saving kindness and blessing. Though men by their national characteristics, ways of thinking and passions may differ from one another, yet God is one and not divided like them. Unconsciously of one another, across green fields or trackless deserts, inhabited places or howling wildernesses, through smooth or rugged paths, straight or devious ways, all are wending with more or less erring feet onward towards the same shrine,—their one objective on reaching which their wanderings ended, their thirst satisfied, they will rest and their joy will begin in a beginning which knows no end. While there are innumerable differences in the various religions for the purpose of worship which have estranged the children of God, the method of proceeding from the manifest to the unmanifest, from effect to cause—which directly appeals to the hearts of many devotees cannot be lightly disposed of as contemptible merely for its simplicity. Though to man's vaunted philosophy it may appear to be a faulty or even an offensive concept about a moral God, yet it may be assumed to be God's acceptable sacrifice in as much as man's philosophy is still a search for truth and man's mind is not yet the mind of God. So as all men alike are endeavouring to attain salvation, at any stage of their religious progress, it is not proper to predict what they may attain afterwards in the end, for all are of God and God is of all. But though by the establishment of one universal religion the worship of God may be advanced to a more spiritual form than at present and thereby humanity will be further uplifted, yet it may be predicted that it will not accomplish man's ultimate happiness, in as much man will not be happy until God be happy, for God and the universe are one. Though it appears certain that that state of man will be a more advanced one, yet it will be, at its best, merely a more onward one leading towards the final goal. But when the fullest knowledge of God, who is Love, will be possessed of all men and assimilated in their nature, then their whole being will be changed to like that of God and their conduct will be like His. When all men will love God and men and be beloved of God and men, then their happiness will be fully attained and they will live like God as desired by Him.

As in the universe there is one Law for its progress and perfection and that Law is Love, and as others are implementary to it, so the impulse of love implanted by God within man will also impel him towards attaining perfection. Those whose hearts are filled with the love of God love all as God loves all. As God is Truth ~~purpose~~ so also all seekers for truth respect all seekers for truth like themselves and as such they think that as they have not come to the end of the knowledge of truth so they do not think that their religious views only are unmistaken, unlike them who think theirs are correct. But if the latter will ponder over their attitude towards those whom they cannot endure that even in their hearts sways the same longing for spiritual blessing as in their own and who also ardently desire to worship the same Being like themselves—Whose name no one knows but whose realm is in the hearts of all, and who in his infinite love and mercy desires to save all, then they will keep away from religious strifes with others who also aim at spiritual elevation like themselves.

Though it is true that man's material condition has much improved upon what it was countless years ago, yet it is now found that, morally and spiritually,. humanity stands almost where it had stood at first. Despite man's great advancement in knowledge, culture and civilization the same old animal nature still rages in his heart to the sorrow of God, Who is Love and Holiness. Malice, selfishness, hate, brutality, rapacity and other abhorrent vices still govern his acts towards his fellowmen. Though vices in public are avoided, yet they are freely indulged in in private ; though killing of citizens is condemned, yet in the battle-field the slaughter of man is not only permitted but even considered a deed of glory by individuals and nations. All this is done in repudiation of the light of God within man which is the source of his religion. For the attainment of the highest spiritual ideal man's wills and acts, that is to say, his whole nature, will have to be made good, and for this his moral elevation is indispensably necessary. Desiring the moral uplift of man God has been sending His Messiahs to the world from the earliest times, as has been declared in the Christian and other Scriptures of the world. If it is believed that the kind and quality of life which Christ lived on earth is the best, then man must live that kind and quality of life, as God has given all help to enable him to live like Christ.

It is thus apparent that, unless and until the whole nature of man is changed from top to bottom, he will not enjoy the blessed state of perfected happiness. Even if all the peoples of the world be religiously united in one belief and worship, they will be yet far from the goal. The practice of love of man by man can alone lead to man's perfection and his highest happiness, fulfilling God's scheme for the salvation of humanity. The universality of religion will be its precursory condition.

G. C. GHOSH

TWO CINQUAINS

I

Night birds
Softly warble
Sighing songs when stars
Scintillate no more but hide
In clouds

II

Twilight
Lilac perfume
Faintly tinted heaven
Cascades of silver songs of nightingales
And you......

Louise A. Nelson

Reviews

Side-lights on Western Civilisation. By K. C. Sen. The Deshbandhu Publishing Co., Ltd., 74, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. 1931. Price, Rs 3

This is a full discussion on western civilisation and not mere 'side-lights' as the author would have us believe. In the course of more than a dozen chapters the author has reached the conclusion that western civilisation is not worth being considered as a type of civilisation, because it is more concerned with provincialism, with things western, and is not cosmopolitan in spirt, not universal in its tendencies. Nationalism, according to him, is closely associated with the exploitation of weak races and if by any miracle (nothing short of that would do) western civilisation ceased to be nationalistic and looked up to be humanistic, that would mean its decay. Christianity at first tried to strangle this civilisation, but failed miserably and succeeded merely in retarding its advance by a few centuries and perhaps by a slight orientation. It is mainly based on primitive pragmatism and can thrive only on exploitation—social, economic, political and theological. The empire of property, masculinity, divinity and raciality is then described and discussed in detail.

Adam's curse has been shifted on to other peoples: the white man, trying to shake off the burden of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, has got hold of other nations to earn his bread for him. The pressure of population made him an easy prey to the dismal devil who glared in the dark and groped for means of revenge on God. Mr. Sen describes how this was possible by pointing out eloquent references to Negro slavery and to large-scale Negro transport. " On their way across the Atlantic the poor wretches suffered horrible torments being packed as closely as the sufferers in the Black Hole of Calcutta, in nearly as stifling an atmosphere, so that large numbers died on the way." This he quotes from Mr. H. G. Wells, and by way of comment adds pertinently, " seeing that fifty thousands of Negroes were annually tranported across the Atlantic, and seeing further that the slave trade lasted for two hundred years, it may be calculated that ten million Negroes of both sexes were in all treated to the horrors of the Black Hole on the bosom of the Atlantic. Whether the proportion of the dead fell short of that of the tragedy of Calcutta is not known. "The fact that the burial of the dead was inexpensive and informal probably had something to do with the indifference with which the death of a Negro was looked upon in the same way as a coster-monger looks upon a rotten fruit in his basket (p. 383)." This is not all, though slave-trade had been abolished, and abolished only when it was found to be unprofitable, slave-breeding, both by other slaves and by white masters, followed deliberately as an industry and a profitable industry, was for some time the fashion. These aspects have been carefully marshalled by the writer and it is not strange that the result is a scathing condemnation of the western civilisation which has, in his opinion, exploited Christianity itself.

It is a thought-provoking book and very suggestive. A bigger type in print would have been more convenient to the general reader and there are occasional signs of careless proof-reading. The general impression before one begins to read is that of heaviness but as we make some progress through it we find ourselves mistaken; the author is clear in his ideas as well as in his expressions.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Oriente Portuguese: Nova Goa, 1931.

The Archaeological Department of Portuguese India has published a review of its exploration work and has brought out also photographs of old buildings and maps and plans of the city of Goa. The review contains four Articles: (1) "The Old Capitals of Goa," by Professor Pissurlencar, (2) "Churches, Convents and Chapels in the Old City of Goa," by R. M. Teles, (3) "Goa in 1777—an Attempt at Reconstruction," by Capt. A. Delduque da Costa, (4) "The Capitals of Portuguese India," by A. B. de Bragança Pereira, President of the Archæological Department, and evidently the inspirer of the enterprise. These accounts are not without their interest for the student of Indian history who must have been struck by the activity in the East of this pioneer European nation. The Portuguese came to this country and got a foothold before other European nations, but their brilliant promise remained only a promise and is to-day a subject of antiquarian interest; the Mandovi winding its way in and out retains its charm as ever, but the Council Hall in Pamjim, the Municipal Hall in Ilhas, the Republican Avenue in New Goa—all these merely convey, with deep significance, the impression—"Imensa gloria dorme!"—"an immense glory sleeps!" If the archæological department succeeds in spreading this impression far and wide in ranks of students of history, it will have done its work and the sponsorship of the idea of the Review by His Excellency the Governor General

Craveiro Lopes on October, 10, 1931, will have borne its result, and will have contributed to the advanced studies on the subject for which the times seem to be propitious.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

School and Sects in Jaina Literature,—By Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L. Published by the Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

This nicely got-up monograph, Visva-bharati Studies No. 3, gives an account from original sources of the doctrines and practices of philosophical schools and religious sects mentioned in the canonical literature of the Jainas. It is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the references to the Ājīvikas, the various Brahmanic schools, such as Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Śāśvatavāda, the Purāṇas, and the Upanisads, to Ātmaṣaṣṭha-, Tajjīvatacchrīra-, and Nāstika-vādas, Buddhism, as well as to other minor schools. The second part deals with the three hundred and sixty-three subdivisions made by the Jainas of the Kriyā-, Akriyā-, Ajñāna-, and Vinaya-vādas. The third part deals with the references to various religious sects including that of Pārśva, to schismatic schools, and to Nirgrantha criticism of heresies. Full references to the sources including the commentaries have been given and Buddhist and Brahmanical parallels utilised.

Mr. Sen's monograph is not an ambitious work. The various names of other schools and sects mentioned in this particular literature have already drawn the attention of many serious scholars and the enigmas connected with them have partly been explained by Jacobi, Hoernle and the present reviewer. The great usefulness of Mr. Sen's publication lies in its elaborate textual study of the passages containing references to and giving descriptions, however slight or misleading, of these schools and sects.

It may be noticed that Mr. Sen's study has been fruitful in that it has served to bring some new facts to light, *e.g.*, in connection with the Ājīvikas and others. How far the term "schools" can be seriously applied to certain doctrines attributed to others by the Jainas, in many places without the mention of the person or persons, is still a point in dispute It may be that the Jainas had a peculiar mania for multiplying the names which are likely to be found to be based upon their own classification and intellectual gymnastics. It cannot perhaps be denied at the same time that behind these overdone classifications of the Jainas there might have been some definite historical developments in the intellectual and religious life of ancient India without reference to which these Jaina classifications are creations of pure imagination.

The canonical literature of the Jainas remains yet an unexplored field, and Mr. Sen's monograph may be looked upon as a clear specimen of just the kind of work that should be done before we undertake the bolder task of tackling the Jaina canon as a whole.

B. M. Barua

Ourselves

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: THE EIGTH ANNIVERSARY

The 8th death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th May last at the Durbhanga Building where the friends and admirers of the great son of Bengal assembled to pay homage to his cherished memory. Time fails to bedim his hallowed memory or assuage the poignant grief of his loving admirers—a fact which was most prominently brought out on that solemn afternoon. Long before the appointed hour people streamed into the building and when the ceremony commenced there was hardly any room on the spacious staircase or the landing. The marble bust of Sir Asutosh was tastefully decorated with green foliage and white lotuses round which the people gathered with bare feet and sorrowful countenance. The mellow light of the evening—the atmosphere heavy with the scent of burnt incenses—the leaping flames in the blazing braziers—genuineness and sincerity of feeling depicted on the countenances of the people assembled—gave the whole scene a most solemn and sombre touch. Amidst pin-drop silence the chanting of a Vedic hymn suddenly burst forth in sweet and melodious cadence—marking the beginning of the solemn ceremony—the rhythm and the pauses making a striking appeal to all present. Then followed three songs specially composed for the occasion and sung with a catholicity which touched directly the heart-strings of the entire assembly. The Vice-Chancellor then proceeded to garland the bust as a token of love, affection and gratitude and in doing so recounted the activities, the achievements and the greatness of the beloved Master. Tears rolled down his cheeks; he faltered in his speech and with voice choked with grief and emotion he concluded by calling upon the assembly to pray for the departed soul. The whole assembly stood up in solemn silence and with heads bent and tears streaming from their eyes the people prayed and prayed intensely for the space of two minutes in all earnestness. The ceremony ended with *Kirtan* in the Durbhanga Library Hall and the assembly dispersed late in the night.

May the University for which he lived and worked thrive in years to come and attain the ideal so dear to his heart!

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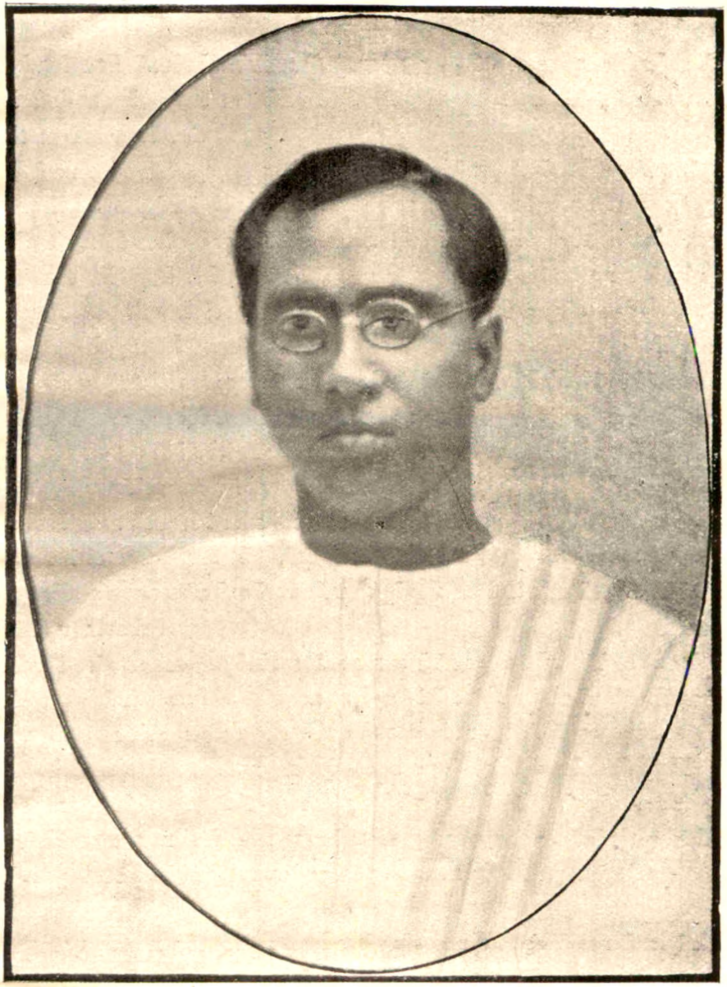
THE LATE MR. PANCHANAN GANGULI

We are extremely sorry to have to record with deep grief the sudden death at the very early age of thirty-seven of our colleague Mr. Panchanan Ganguli, M.A., who passed away on the 11th of April, 1932, at his Calcutta residence after a prolonged illness of eight months. A very promising career has thus been abruptly cut short by premature death and we are filled with a sense of a personal loss. He endeared himself to us even when he was a student in 1917 and 1918 in the Post-Graduate English classes by his conscientious work, ability and character. His was a distinguished academic career. He occupied the highest place at his B. A. Examination in 1916 and stood first in Group B at the M. A. Examination of 1919, having taken the same degree in Group A in the previous year. He had served in the meantime for a short period as Professor of English at the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, in 1918. He was appointed a lecturer in the Post-Graduate English department of the Calcutta University in 1920 and at once made his mark as a successful teacher by his extraordinary devotion to duty. He charmed every one that came into contact with him by his simplicity, candour and amiable and sweet disposition and was equally loved and respected by his numerous students



THE LATE MR. P. GANGULI

and his colleagues. He was the principal earning member of a fairly large Hindu family and it is painful to note that he has left his wife and children ill-provided. Having lost his father while quite young Panchanan had to struggle hard in life and he managed to win his way steadily by dint of a persevering will. Though English was his chosen subject he was deeply versed in Sanskrit Philosophy and got from Benares the title of *Saraswati.*

In offering our most sincere condolence to the bereaved family we particularly feel for the poor young widow and the aged mother.

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MR. AMRITALAL BASU: UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL'S 43 YEARS' SERVICE.

By the retirement of Mr. A. L. Basu, Superintendent, Registrar's office, the University is going to lose the services of one its oldest servants. Mr. Basu joined the University as a junior clerk as early as August, 1889, and during this long period of 43 years he had the honour of serving under nineteen Registrars, among whom may be mentioned the names of Mr. Charles Tawney, Dr. P. K. Ray, Mr. K. C. Banerjee and Dr. Thibaut. He attended no less than 45 Convocations and saw 18 Vice-Chancellors and more than a dozen Chancellors including seven Viceroys.

Mr. Basu was appointed Superintendent of the Registrar's office in 1921. In recognition of his long and faithful services the Senate of the University has granted him a bonus of Rs. 5,000 in addition to the pension which he has earned.

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DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS

The following have been fixed as dates for the commencement of the next I.E. and B.E. Examinations :—

I.E., Section A	July 4th and 5th
I.E., Section B	July 11th to 15th
B.E., Non-Professional, Civil Engineering ...	July 4th to 6th
B.E., Non-Professional, Mechanical Engineering	July 4th and 5th
B.E., Professional ,Civil Engineering ...	July 12th to 15th
B.E., Professional, Mechanical Engineering ...	July 11th to 15th

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THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR THE YEAR 1931

The Nagarjuna prize for the year 1931 has been awarded to Mr. Nirmalapada Chattopadhyay.

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We deeply regret that an article entitled "The Political Philosophy of Rousseau" received by us from one of our contributors, Mr. C. V. Hanumantha Rao, M.A., B.Ed. of Samalkota, Madras, over his signature and in his handwriting, appeared in the May issue of our Review which is now discovered to be a verbatim reproduction of "Chapter XI. Rousseau : Introduction. The Social Contract," pp. 253-263, of a book named "Political Philosophy from Plato to Jeremy Bentham" by Dr. Geza Engelmann, translated from the German by Karl Frederick Geiser, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College, with an Introduction by Oscar Jászi, Ph.D. We are awaiting a reply from our contributor in question to whom the matter has been referred. In the meantime we offer our sincere apology to the publishers of the book, Messrs. Harper and Brothers, New York and London.